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Masterpieces of American Eloquence

[CHRISTIAN HERALD SELECTION]

...With Introduction by...

JULIA WARD HOWE

NEW YORK
THE CHRISTIAN HERALD
LOUIS KLOPSCH, Proprietor
1900

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INTRODUCTION.

THE historians of antiquity attached so much importance to the utterances of the great men of whom they wrote, that they were fain to make such report as they could of the orations pronounced by these personages, on occasions of public interest. Where full knowledge in this regard was unattainable, the historians themselves, it is supposed, composed such addresses as such men, under the given circumstances, would have been likely to make.

The orations of Demosthenes and Cicero have, indeed, been preserved for us in their entirety; and continue to this day to hold an important place in Greek and Latin classics. In addition to these, Thucydides, Livy, and Tacitus hand down to us many eloquent sentences; which may have been correctly, even if imperfectly, reported. Nothing, indeed, can bring the people of other times so much within the comprehension of later generations as can the record of what their eminent men were moved to say in the great crises of their public life. The Latin proverb tells us that: "*Verba volant. Litera scripta manet.*" But in the recorded orations, the flying word is made to remain, the fleeting impression reproduces itself; we live for the moment the life of days long vanished.

As Americans, we have especial occasion to feel an interest in the volume herewith presented. Eloquence does much to build up the life of free peoples. The words uttered by patriots in our early history were prophetic of the destiny of a Nation fated to play a new part in the great drama of the world's record. The indignant protest of James Otis against the Writs of Assistance, imposed upon the Colonies by the Mother Country; the burning words of Patrick Henry, from which fugitive slaves in our own time have taken to themselves the sentence: "Give me liberty, or give me death!" the weighty utterances of Samuel Adams, Alexander Hamilton, and Thomas Jefferson — do they not bring back to us the very walls within which the fateful pleadings were made? — the "Old Church" in Richmond where Patrick Henry stood, the State House of Boston, preserved from vandal destruction by the prayers of Massachusetts

women; the beloved Hall given by Peter Faneuil, still standing, and still made to resound with the music of free speech; Independence Hall, in Philadelphia, where the charter of our new faith was signed and sealed; and many another locality, consecrated by heroic associations. And, far more precious than this dead architecture, is the living temple of our Statehood, the brave building of thought and of art which has been raised upon the foundation of our fathers, a fabric strong and beautiful. To the youth of our country we may well say of these old-time statements of Right and Duty:

"Grapple them to thy heart with hooks of steel."

But our volume passes from these legacies of the immortal past to the wonderful record of our own century, one in which the new theories were put upon trial. The maxims enunciated by the fathers, the rules laid down, were no doubt very high-sounding; but could a stable government be raised on such a plane, by such a system?

We soon see an old-world poison working into the wholesome veins of the new body-politic. Slavery, fastened upon us while we were yet in our cradle, became a source of irreconcilable differences. On the one hand, it was seen that no country could be called free in which man could buy and sell his brother man. On the other hand, it became evident that an irresponsible tyranny could not be permitted to overrun the domain pledged to the upholding of free institutions. And in time the inevitable contest came; and in the end was settled for the ultimate advantage of both parties.

The present volume preserves for our instruction the arguments which make evident the steps of this progress; at first, so painful, in the end, so triumphant. The voices which awoke the echoes of our own halls of Congress with fiery threats, with prophetic admonitions, the mistaken pleading which urged on the war, and the counter pleading which kept in sight the true issue, yes, and the simple, wise eloquence of the Martyr President's parting address — all this is given to the public in the work now offered to it.

Among the treasures of this collection, I must not omit to mention Wendell Phillips's speech on the murder of Lovejoy, the memorable burst of eloquence which won for him the spurs of his early knighthood. Here we have Daniel Webster's reply to Hayne, in which he gives his interpretation of the scope and character of our Government — and, later on, Theodore Parker's trenchant analysis of Webster's public life. We are glad also to find Henry Ward Beecher's remarkable address given in Liverpool during our war, when the Mother Country looked coldly upon us, and the great audience scarcely accorded to the eminent orator a decent hearing. Among the earlier of the

speeches here brought together, I am led to ponder the words of Samuel Adams, less familiar perhaps to some of us than others of his name: "Truth loves an appeal to the common sense of mankind." "Our fathers threw off the yoke of Popery in religion; for you is reserved the honor of leveling the Popery of politics." "This day (August 1, 1776) I trust the reign of political protestanism will commence."

The study of these historic documents is much needed in our day, when American men and women, with fair opportunities of culture and education, often show a lamentable ignorance of the history and original spirit of our Government. When I undertook to write an introduction to the present volume, and to review the matter therein contained, I had a very imperfect notion of its value. Since then, I have found in the perusal of these pages, much food for thought. As I read, the mighty issues of the century just passed rise up before me, the terrible problem whose solution could not be deferred, and cannot now be changed.

In the orations here presented I find that the walls of our National Capitol had resounded with many angry debates before the question of slavery so widely divided the North from the South. Civil liberty, philosophers agree, is not an original attribute of man's nature, but a result of wise and high dispositions. Such a result cannot be attained without the exhibition of many differences of opinion. The freedom of speech and of the press to which we were pledged from the start allowed these differences to encounter each other in broad daylight and upon a field of unusual extent. Fortunately they have proved themselves to be discords leading to solution, and as the processes of question, discussion, and final settlement have gone on, the general harmony has risen to a higher and fuller diapason.

From this fact of the past we may hopefully draw the happy inference that our differences, individual and national, will more and more tend to settle themselves by the scale of reason and that the better acquaintance with the principles essential to social and civil well-being will insure a growing interest in the prevalence and final establishment of those principles.

The America of to-day rushes panting in the pursuit, not of wealth only, but of the imperial power which wealth confers. The multi-millionaire has become the most popular ideal among us, the man who can most enrich himself at the expense of the community. Next to him in the popular idolatry, comes the man who can delude the multitude with specious arguments and phrases of high promise. In some parts of our country, evil passions raging in undisciplined minds arouse opposition to every just law. The victim of popular fury is led to the stake and burned there; while Judgment, in her calm temple, waits

with sword and balance to condemn and to execute, but waits in vain. How can these things be? Is the finger of our fate receding on the dial? Are we insensibly creeping back, here to the reign of savage violence, there to that of barbaric splendor? We may well exclaim: "Forbid it, Heaven!"

The true glory of our country is not seen in our wealthy men and women who patrol the capitals of Europe, craving the notice and applause of a society very different from our own. Their way may be traced by the gold that they spill, but these traces will vanish like the crumbs scattered by one in a fairy-tale, to mark his path, and at once devoured by the birds of the forest. Even the monumental splendor of their edifices shall pass away:

> "And, like the baseless fabric of a vision,
> Leave not a rack behind."

Our true glory is in the brave words which in our midst have been spoken for human right and freedom, and in the brave deeds which have responded to them. The Mother of the Gracchi when asked to show her jewels, pointed to her sons and said: "These are my jewels." So may America point to her true children who have done her work, and borne, with her burdens, a great part of the obligations of civilized humanity.

Æschylus represents the children of Agamemnon as standing beside his tomb, and invoking his aid in the vindication of his memory. Even thus, beside the records of these fathers of our Commonwealth, we may appeal for present help to their immortal spirits, the essence of which still lives and glows in their undying words.

What a creature is man that he can so project his living thought into ages which have never seen his face nor heard his voice! Not vainly is this power granted him. Roman Horace could say: "Non omnis moriar." "I shall not wholly perish." And you, noble guardians of the people's conscience, you who so often lifted up your voice in the face of danger and rude defiance, you are not dead. Your spirits abide with us in the words which God gave you when and as they were needed. Emerson has said:

> "One accent of the Holy Ghost
> The heedless world has never lost."

And we, your children, heedless and unthinking as we may be, will not suffer your great promise to remain unfulfilled. We will vindicate your honor with our own.

JULIA WARD HOWE.

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So on the tip of his subduing tongue
All kinds of arguments and questions deep,
All replication prompt and reason strong,
For his advantage still did wake and sleep
To make the weeper laugh, the laugher weep,
He had the dialect and different skill,
Catching all passion in his craft of will.

* * * * * *

Speak the speech, I pray you, as I pronounced it to you, trippingly on the tongue . . . . Nor do not saw the air too much with your hand, thus, but use all gently; for in the very torrent, tempest, and, as I may say, the whirlwind of passion, you must acquire and beget a temperance that may give it smoothness . . . . Be not too tame neither, but let your own discretion be your tutor: suit the action to the word, the word to the action; with this special observance, that you o'erstep not the modesty of nature; for anything so overdone is from the purpose.

— *Shakespeare.*

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JAMES OTIS.

The Writs of Assistance.

By JAMES OTIS, of Massachusetts.

(Born 1725, died 1783.)

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR HONORS: I was desired by one of the court to look into the books, and consider the question now before them concerning writs of assistance. I have accordingly considered it; and now appear, not only in obedience to your order but likewise, in behalf of the inhabitants of this town, who have presented another petition, and out of regard to the liberties of the subject. And I take this opportunity to declare, that, whether under a fee or not (for in such a cause as this I despise a fee), I will to my dying day oppose, with all the powers and faculties God has given me, all such instruments of slavery on the one hand and villainy on the other, as this writ of assistance is.

It appears to me the worst instrument of arbitrary power, the most destructive of English liberty and the fundamental principles of law, that ever was found in an English law-book. I must, therefore, beg your honors' patience and attention to the whole range of an argument, that may, perhaps, appear uncommon in many things, as well as to points of learning that are more remote and unusual; that the whole tendency of my design may the more easily be perceived, the conclusions better descend, and the force of them be better felt. I shall not think much of my pains in this cause, as I engaged in it from principle. I was solicited to argue this cause as Advocate-General; and, because I would not, I have been charged with desertion from my office. To this charge I can give a very sufficient answer. I renounced that office, and I argue this cause from the same principle; and I argue it with the greater pleasure, as it is in favor of British liberty, at a time when we hear the greatest monarch upon earth declaring from his throne that he glories in the name of Briton, and that the privileges of his people are dearer to him than the most valuable prerogatives of his

crown; and as it is in opposition to a kind of power, the exercise of which in former periods of history cost one King of England his head, and another his throne. I have taken more pains in this cause than I ever will take again; although my engaging in this and another popular cause has raised much resentment. But I think I can sincerely declare, that I cheerfully submit myself to every odious name for conscience' sake; and from my soul I despise all those whose guilt, malice, or folly has made them my foes. Let the consequences be what they will, I am determined to proceed. The only principles of public conduct, that are worthy of a gentleman or a man, are to sacrifice estate, ease, health, and applause — and even life — to the sacred calls of his country.

These manly sentiments, in private life, make the good citizens; in public life, the patriot and the hero. I do not say that, when brought to the test, I shall be invincible. I pray God I may never be brought to the melancholy trial; but if ever I should, it will be then known how far I can reduce to practice principles which I know to be founded in truth. In the meantime, I will proceed to the subject of this writ.

Your honors will find in the old books, concerning the office of a justice of the peace, precedents of general warrants to search suspected houses. But in more modern books, you will find only special warrants to search such and such houses, specially named, in which the complainant has before sworn that he suspects his goods are concealed; and will find it adjudged that special warrants only are legal. In the same manner, I rely on it, that the writ prayed for in this petition, being general, is illegal. It is a power that places the liberty of every man in the hands of every petty officer. I say, I admit that special writs of assistance, to search special places, may be granted to certain persons on oath; but I deny that the writ now prayed for can be granted, for I beg leave to make some observations on the writ itself, before I proceed to other acts of Parliament. In the first place, the writ is *universal*, being directed "to all and singular justices, sheriffs, constables, and all other officers and subjects;" so that, in short, it is directed to every subject in the King's dominions. Every one with this writ may be a tyrant; if this commission be legal, a tyrant in a legal manner; also, may control, imprison, or murder any one within the realm. In the next place, it is *perpetual;* there is no return. A man is accountable to no person for his doings. Every man may reign secure in his petty tyranny, and spread terror and desolation around him, until the trump of the archangel shall excite different emotions in his soul. In the third place, a person with this writ, in the daytime, may enter all houses, shops, etc., at will, and command all to assist him. Fourthly, by this writ, not only deputies, etc., but even their menial servants, are allowed to lord it over us. What is this but to have the curse of Canaan

with a witness on us; to be the servant of servants, the most despicable of God's creation? Now one of the most essential branches of English liberty is the freedom of one's house. A man's house is his castle; and whilst he is quiet, he is as well guarded as a prince in his castle. This writ, if it should be declared legal, would totally annihilate this privilege. Custom-house officers may enter our houses when they please; we are commanded to permit their entry. Their menial servants may enter, may break locks, bars, and everything in their way; and whether they break through malice or revenge, no man, no court can inquire. Bare suspicion without oath is sufficient. This wanton exercise of this power is not a chimerical suggestion of a heated brain. I will mention some facts. Mr. Pew had one of these writs, and when Mr. Ware succeeded him, he indorsed this writ over to Mr. Ware; so that these writs are negotiable from one officer to another; and so your honors have no opportunity of judging the persons to whom this vast power is delegated. Another instance is this: Mr. Justice Walley had called this same Mr. Ware before him, by a constable, to answer for a breach of the Sabbath-day acts, or that of profane swearing. As soon as he had finished, Mr. Ware asked him if he had done. He replied, "Yes." "Well, then," said Mr. Ware, "I will show you a little of my power. I command you to permit me to search your house for uncustomed goods;" and went on to search the house from the garret to the cellar; and then served the constable in the same manner! But to show another absurdity in this writ: if it should be established, I insist upon it every person, by the 14th Charles Second, has this power as well as the custom-house officers. The words are: "it shall be lawful for any person or persons authorized," etc. What a scene does this open! Every man prompted by revenge, ill-humor, or wantonness, to inspect the inside of his neighbor's house, may get a writ of assistance. Others will ask it from self-defense; one arbitrary exertion will provoke another, until society be involved in tumult and in blood.

(Delivered before the Superior Court of Massachusetts, February, 1761.)

The Necessity of War.

By PATRICK HENRY, of Virginia.

(Born 1736, died 1799.)

MR PRESIDENT: No man thinks more highly than I do of the patriotism, as well as abilities, of the very worthy gentlemen who have just addressed the House. But different men often see the same subject in different lights; and, therefore, I hope that it will not be thought disrespectful to those gentlemen, if, entertaining, as I do, opinions of a character very opposite to theirs, I shall speak forth my sentiments freely and without reserve. This is no time for ceremony. The question before the House is one of awful moment to this country. For my own part, I consider it as nothing less than a question of freedom or slavery; and in proportion to the magnitude of the subject, ought to be the freedom of the debate. It is only in this way that we can hope to arrive at truth, and fulfil the great responsibility which we hold to God and our country. Should I keep back my opinions at such a time, through fear of giving offense, I should consider myself as guilty of treason toward my country, and of an act of disloyalty toward the Majesty of Heaven, which I revere above all earthly kings.

Mr. President, it is natural to man to indulge in the illusions of hope. We are apt to shut our eyes against a painful truth, and listen to the song of that syren till she transforms us into beasts. Is this the part of wise men, engaged in a great and arduous struggle for liberty? Are we disposed to be of the number of those who, having eyes, see not and, having ears, hear not the things which so nearly concern their temporal salvation? For my part, whatever anguish of spirit it may cost, I am willing to know the whole truth; to know the worst and to provide for it.

I have but one lamp by which my feet are guided, and that is the lamp of experience. I know of no way of judging of the future but by the past. And judging by the past, I wish to know what there has been in the conduct of the British Ministry for the last ten years to justify those hopes with which gentlemen have been pleased to solace themselves and the House? Is it that insidious smile with which our petition has been lately received? Trust it not, sir; it

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will prove a snare to your feet. Suffer not yourselves to be betrayed with a kiss. Ask yourselves how this gracious reception of our petition comports with these warlike preparations, which cover our waters and darken our land. Are fleets and armies necessary to a work of love and reconciliation? Have we shown ourselves so unwilling to be reconciled, that force must be called in to win back our love? Let us not deceive ourselves, sir. These are the implements of war and subjugation, the last arguments to which kings resort. I ask gentlemen, sir, what means this martial array, if its purpose be not to force us to submission? Can gentlemen assign any other possible motives for it? Has Great Britain any enemy, in this quarter of the world, to call for all this accumulation of navies and armies? No, sir; she has none. They are meant for us; they can be meant for no other. They are sent over to bind and rivet upon us those chains which the British Ministry have been so long forging. And what have we to oppose to them? Shall we try argument? Sir, we have been trying that for the last ten years. Have we anything new to offer on the subject? Nothing. We have held the subject up in every light of which it is capable; but it has been all in vain. Shall we resort to entreaty and humble supplication? What terms shall we find which have not been already exhausted? Let us not, I beseech you, sir, deceive ourselves longer. Sir, we have done everything that could be done, to avert the storm which is now coming on. We have petitioned; we have remonstrated; we have supplicated; we have prostrated ourselves before the throne, and have implored its interposition to arrest the tyrannical hands of the Ministry and Parliament. Our petitions have been slighted; our remonstrances have produced additional violence and insult; our supplications have been disregarded; and we have been spurned, with contempt, from the foot of the throne. In vain, after these things, may we indulge the fond hope of peace and reconciliation. There is no longer any room for hope. If we wish to be free; if we mean to preserve inviolate those inestimable privileges for which we have been so long contending; if we mean not basely to abandon the noble struggle in which we have been so long engaged, and which we have pledged ourselves never to abandon until the glorious object of our contest shall be obtained — we must fight! I repeat it, sir; we must fight! An appeal to arms and to the God of Hosts is all that is left us!

They tell us, sir, that we are weak; unable to cope with so formidable an adversary. But when shall we be stronger? Will it be the next week, or the next year? Will it be when we are totally disarmed, and when a British guard shall be stationed in every house? Shall we gather strength by irresolution and inaction? Shall we acquire the means of effectual resistance, by lying supinely on our backs, and hugging the delusive phantom of hope, until our enemies

shall have bound us hand and foot? Sir, we are not weak, if we make a proper use of the means which the God of nature hath placed in our power. Three millions of people, armed in the holy cause of liberty, and in such a country as that which we possess, are invincible by any force which our enemy can send against us. Besides, sir, we shall not fight our battles alone. There is a just God who presides over the destinies of nations; and who will raise up friends to fight our battles for us. The battle, sir, is not to the strong alone; it is to the vigilant, the active, the brave. Besides, sir, we have no election. If we were base enough to desire it, it is now too late to retire from the contest. There is no retreat, but in submission and slavery! Our chains are forged! Their clanking may be heard on the plains of Boston! The war is inevitable — and let it come! I repeat it, sir; let it come!

It is in vain, sir, to extenuate the matter. Gentlemen may cry peace, peace; but there is no peace. The war is actually begun! The next gale that sweeps from the north will bring to our ears the clash of resounding arms! Our brethren are already in the field! Why stand we here idle? What is it that gentlemen wish? What would they have? Is life so dear, or peace so sweet, as to be purchased at the price of chains and slavery? Forbid it, Almighty God! I know not what course others may take; but as for me, give me liberty, or give me death!

(Being the World Famous Address before the Convention of Delegates, March 28, 1775.)

American Independence.

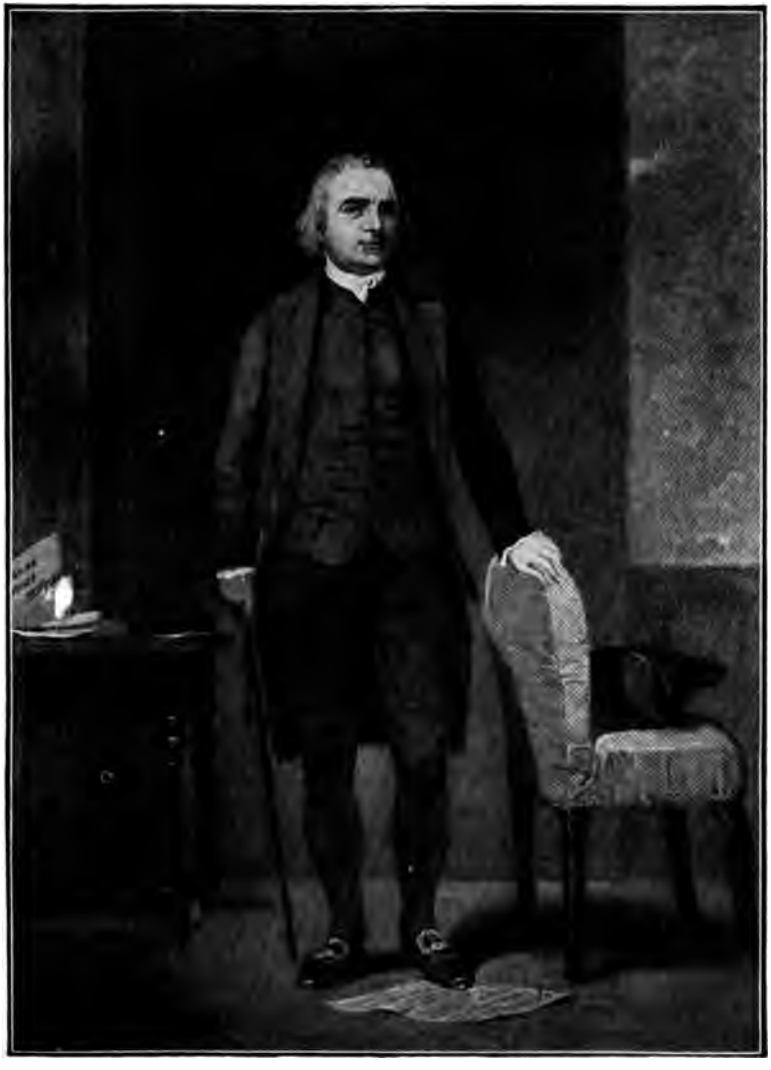
By SAMUEL ADAMS, of Massachusetts.

(Born 1722, died 1803.)

COUNTRYMEN AND BRETHREN: I would gladly have declined an honor to which I find myself unequal. I have not the calmness and impartiality which the infinite importance of this occasion demands. I will not deny the charge of my enemies, that resentment for the accumulated injuries of our country, and an ardor for her glory, rising to enthusiasm, may deprive me of that accuracy of judgment and expression which men of cooler passions may possess. Let me beseech you, then, to hear me with caution, to examine without prejudice, and to correct the mistakes into which I may be hurried by my zeal.

Truth loves an appeal to the common sense of mankind. Your unperverted understandings can best determine on subjects of a practical nature. The positions and plans which are said to be above the comprehension of the multitude may be always suspected to be visionary and fruitless. He who made all men hath made the truths necessary to human happiness obvious to all.

Our forefathers threw off the yoke of popery in religion; for you is reserved the honor of leveling the popery of politics. They opened the Bible to all, and maintained the capacity of every man to judge for himself in religion. Are we sufficient for the comprehension of the sublimest spiritual truths, and unequal to material and temporal ones? Heaven hath trusted us with the management of things for eternity, and man denies us ability to judge of the present, or to know from our feelings the experience that will make us happy. "You can discern," say they, "objects distant and remote, but cannot perceive those within your grasp. Let us have the distribution of present goods, and cut out and manage as you please the interests of futurity." This day, I trust, the reign of political protestantism will commence. We have explored the temple of royalty and found that the idol we have bowed down to has eyes which see not, ears that hear not our prayers, and a heart like the nether millstone. We have this day restored the Sovereign, to whom alone men ought to be obedient. He reigns in Heaven, and with a propitious eye beholds his subjects assuming that freedom of thought and dignity of self-direction which he bestowed on them. From the rising to the setting sun, may his kingdom come. * * *



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Men who content themselves with the semblance of truth, and a display of words, talk much of our obligations to Great Britain for protection. Had she a single eye to our advantage? A nation of shopkeepers are very seldom so disinterested. Let us not be so amused with words; the extension of her commerce was her object. When she defended our coasts, she fought for her customers, and convoyed our ships loaded with wealth, which we had acquired for her by our industry. She has treated us as beasts of burthen, whom the lordly masters cherish that they may carry a greater load. Let us inquire also, against whom she has protected us? Against her own enemies with whom we had no quarrel, or only on her account, and against whom we always readily exerted our wealth and strength when they were required. Were these Colonies backward in giving assistance to Great Britain, when they were called upon in 1739, to aid the expedition against Carthagena? They at that time sent three thousand men to join the British army; although the war commenced without their consent. But the last war, it is said, was purely American. This is a vulgar error, which, like many others, has gained credit by being confidently repeated. The dispute between the Courts of Great Britain and France related to the limits of Canada and Nova Scotia. The controverted territory was not claimed by any in the Colonies, but by the Crown of Great Britain. It was, therefore, their own quarrel. The infringement of a right which England had, by the treaty of Utrecht, of trading in the Indian country of Ohio, was another cause of the war. The French seized large quantities of British manufactures, and took possession of a fort which a company of British merchants and factors had erected for the security of their commerce. The war was, therefore, waged in defense of lands claimed by the Crown, and for the protection of British property. The French at that time had no quarrel with America; and, as appears by letters sent from their Commander-in-Chief to some of the Colonies, wished to remain in peace with us. The part, therefore, which we then took, and the miseries to which we exposed ourselves, ought to be charged to our affection for Britain. These colonies granted more than their proportion to the support of the war. They raised, clothed, and maintained nearly twenty-five thousand men; and so sensible were the people of England of our great exertions, that a message was annually sent to the House of Commons purporting: "That his majesty, being highly satisfied of the zeal and vigor with which his faithful subjects in North America had exerted themselves in defense of his majesty's just rights and possessions, recommend it to the House, to take the same into consideration, and enable him to give them a proper compensation."

But what purpose can arguments of this kind answer? Did the protection we received annul our rights as men, and lay us under an obligation of being miserable?

Who among you, my countrymen, that is a father, would claim authority to make your child a slave, because you had nourished him in his infancy?

It is a strange species of generosity which requires a return infinitely more valuable than anything it could have bestowed; that demands as a reward for a defense of our property, a surrender of those inestimable privileges, to the arbitrary will of vindictive tyrants, which alone give value to that very property. * * *

Courage, then, my countrymen! our contest is not only whether we ourselves shall be free, but whether there shall be left to mankind an asylum on earth for civil and religious liberty? Dismissing, therefore, the justice of our cause as incontestable, the only question is, What is best for us to pursue in our present circumstances?

The doctrine of dependence on Great Britain is, I believe, generally exploded; but, as I would attend to the honest weakness of the simplest of men, you will pardon me if I offer a few words on that subject.

We are now on this continent, to the astonishment of the world, three millions of souls united in one common cause. We have large armies, well disciplined and appointed, with commanders inferior to none in military skill, and superior in activity and zeal. We are furnished with arsenals and stores beyond our most sanguine expectations, and foreign nations are waiting to crown our success by their alliances. There are instances of, I would say, an almost astonishing Providence in our favor; our success has staggered our enemies, and almost given faith to infidels; so that we may truly say it is not our own arm which has saved us.

The hand of Heaven appears to have led us on to be, perhaps, humble instruments and means in the great providential dispensation which is completing. We have fled from the political Sodom; let us not look back, lest we perish and become a monument of infamy and derision to the world! * * *

From the day on which an accommodation takes place between England and America, on any other terms than as independent States, I shall date the ruin of this country. A politic minister will study to lull us into security, by granting us the full extent of our petitions. The warm sunshine of influence would melt down the virtue, which the violence of the storm rendered more firm and unyielding. In a state of tranquillity, wealth, and luxury, our descendants would forget the arts of war, and the noble activity and zeal which made their ancestors invincible. Every art of corruption would be employed to loosen the bond of union which renders our resistance formidable. When the spirit of liberty, which now animates our hearts and gives success to our arms, is extinct, our numbers will accelerate our ruin, and render us easier victims to tyranny. Ye abandoned minions of an infatuated ministry — if, peradventure, any should

yet remain among us! — remember that a Warren and a Montgomery are numbered among the dead. Contemplate the mangled bodies of your countrymen, and then say, what should be the reward of such sacrifices? Bid us and our posterity bow the knee, supplicate the friendship, and plough and sow and reap, to glut the avarice of the men who have let loose on us the dogs of war to riot in our blood, and hunt us from the face of the earth? If ye love wealth better than liberty; the tranquillity of servitude, than the animating contest of freedom — go from us in peace. We ask not your counsels or arms. Crouch down and lick the hands which feed you. May your chains set lightly upon you, and may posterity forget that ye were our countrymen. * * *

Some who would persuade us that they have tender feelings for future generations, while they are insensible to the happiness of the present, are perpetually foreboding a train of dissensions under our popular system. Such men's reasoning amounts to this: give up all that is valuable to Great Britain, and then you will have no inducements to quarrel among yourselves; or suffer yourselves to be chained down by your enemies, that you may not be able to fight with your friends.

This is an insult on your virtue as well as your common sense. Your unanimity this day and through the course of the war is a decisive refutation of such invidious predictions. Our enemies have already had evidence that our present Constitution contains in it the justice and ardor of freedom, and the wisdom and vigor of the most absolute system. When the law is the will of the people, it will be uniform and coherent; but fluctuation, contradiction, and inconsistency of councils must be expected under those governments where every revolution in the ministry of a court produces one in the state. Such being the folly and pride of all ministers, that they ever pursue measures directly opposite to those of their predecessors.

We shall neither be exposed to the necessary convulsions of elective monarchies; nor to the want of wisdom, fortitude, and virtue, to which hereditary succession is liable. In your hands it will be to perpetuate a prudent, active, and just legislature; and which will never expire until you yourselves lose the virtues which give it existence.

And, brethren and fellow countrymen, if it was ever granted to mortals to trace the designs of Providence, and interpret its manifestations in favor of their cause, we may, with humility of soul, cry out: "Not unto us, not unto us, but to thy name be the praise." The confusion of the devices among our enemies, and the rage of the elements against them, have done almost as much toward our success as either our councils or our arms.

The time at which this attempt on our liberties was made, when we were ripened into maturity, had acquired a knowledge of war, and were free from

the incursions of enemies in this country; the gradual advances of our oppressors enabling us to prepare for our defense; the unusual fertility of our lands and clemency of the seasons; the success which at first attended our feeble arms, producing unanimity among our friends and reducing our internal foes to acquiescence — these are all strong and palpable marks and assurances, that Providence is yet gracious unto Zion, that it will turn away the captivity of Jacob. * * *

Countrymen! the men who now invite you to surrender your rights into their hands are the men who have let loose the merciless savages to riot in the blood of their brethren; who have dared to establish popery triumphant in our land; who have taught treachery to your slaves, and courted them to assassinate your wives and children.

These are the men to whom we are exhorted to sacrifice the blessings which Providence holds out to us — the happiness, the dignity of uncontrolled freedom and independence.

Let not your generous indignation be directed against any among us who may advise so absurd and maddening a measure. Their number is but few and daily decreased; and the spirit which can render them patient of slavery, will render them contemptible enemies.

Our Union is now complete; our Constitution composed, established, and approved. You are now the guardians of your own liberties. We may justly address you, as the Decemviri did the Romans, and say: "Nothing that we propose, can pass into a law without your consent. Be yourselves, O Americans, the authors of those laws on which your happiness depends."

You have now, in the field, armies sufficient to repel the whole force of your enemies, and their base and mercenary auxiliaries. The hearts of your soldiers beat high with the spirit of freedom — they are animated with the justice of their cause, and while they grasp their swords, can look up to Heaven for assistance. Your adversaries are composed of wretches who laugh at the rights of humanity, who turn religion into derision, and would, for higher wages, direct their swords against their leaders or their country. Go on, then, in your generous enterprise, with gratitude to Heaven for past success, and confidence of it in the future. For my own part, I ask no greater blessing than to share with you the common danger and common glory. If I have a wish dearer to my soul, than that my ashes may be mingled with those of a Warren and a Montgomery, it is — that these American States may never cease to be free and independent!

(Delivered in Philadelphia, August 1, 1776.)

The Federal Constitution.

By ALEXANDER HAMILTON, of New York.
(Born 1757, died 1804.)

I AM persuaded, Mr. Chairman, that I, in my turn, shall be indulged, in addressing the committee. We all, in equal sincerity, profess to be anxious for the establishment of a republican government, on a safe and solid basis. It is the object of the wishes of every honest man in the United States; and I presume that I shall not be disbelieved, when I declare that it is an object of all others, the nearest and most dear to my own heart. The means of accomplishing this great purpose become the most important study which can interest mankind. It is our duty to examine all those means with peculiar attention, and to choose the best and most effectual. * * *

In the commencement of a Revolution, which received its birth from the usurpations of tyranny, nothing was more natural, than that the public mind should be influenced by an extreme spirit of jealousy. To resist these encroachments, and to nourish this spirit, was the great object of all our public and private institutions. The zeal for liberty became predominant and excessive. In forming our confederation, this passion alone seemed to actuate us, and we appear to have had no other view than to secure ourselves from despotism. The object certainly was a valuable one, and deserved our utmost attention. But, sir, there is another object equally important, and which our enthusiasm rendered us little capable of regarding: I mean a principle of strength and stability in the organization of our Government, and vigor in its operations. This purpose can never be accomplished but by the establishment of some select body, formed peculiarly upon this principle. There are few positions more demonstrable than that there should be in every republic, some permanent body to correct the prejudices, check the intemperate passions, and regulate the fluctuations of a popular assembly. It is evident, that a body instituted for these purposes, must be so formed as to exclude as much as possible from its own character, those infirmities and that mutability which it is designed to remedy. It is, therefore, necessary that it should be small, that it should hold its authority during a con-

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siderable period, and that it should have such an independence in the exercise of its powers, as will divest it as much as possible of local prejudices. It should be so formed as to be the center of political knowledge, to pursue always a steady line of conduct, and to reduce every irregular propensity to system. Without this establishment, we may make experiments without end, but shall never have an efficient government.

It is an unquestionable truth, that the body of the people in every country desire sincerely its prosperity; but it is equally unquestionable, that they do not possess the discernment and stability necessary for systematic government. To deny that they are frequently led into the grossest errors by misinformation and passion, would be a flattery which their own good sense must despise. That branch of administration, especially, which involves our political relations with foreign states, a community will ever be incompetent to. These truths are not often held up in public assemblies: but they cannot be unknown to any who hear me. From these principles it follows, that there ought to be two distinct bodies in our Government: one which shall be immediately constituted by and peculiarly represent the people and possess all the popular features; another, formed upon the principle, and for the purposes, before explained. * * *

Gentlemen, in their reasoning, have placed the interests of the several States and those of the United States in contrast; this is not a fair view of the subject; they must necessarily be involved in each other. What we apprehend is, that some sinister prejudice, or some prevailing passion, may assume the form of a genuine interest. The influence of these is as powerful as the most permanent conviction of the public good; and against this influence we ought to provide. The local interests of a State ought in every case to give way to the interests of the Union; for when a sacrifice of one or the other is necessary, the former becomes only an apparent, partial interest, and should yield, on the principle that the small good ought never to oppose the great one. When you assemble from your several counties in the Legislature, were every member to be guided only by the apparent interests of his county, government would be impracticable. There must be a perpetual accommodation and sacrifice of local advantages to general expediency; but the spirit of a mere popular assembly would rarely be actuated by this important principle. It is, therefore, absolutely necessary that the Senate should be so formed, as to be unbiased by false conceptions of the real interests, or undue attachment to the apparent good, of their several States.

Gentlemen indulge too many unreasonable apprehensions of danger to the State Governments; they seem to suppose that the moment you put men into a national council, they become corrupt and tyrannical, and lose all their affection

for their fellow citizens. But can we imagine that the Senators will ever be so insensible of their own advantage, as to sacrifice the genuine interest of their constituents? The State Governments are essentially necessary to the form and spirit of the general system. As long, therefore, as Congress has a full conviction of this necessity, they must, even upon principles purely national, have as firm an attachment to the one as to the other. This conviction can never leave them, unless they become madmen. While the Constitution continues to be read, and its principle known, the States must, by every rational man, be considered as essential, component parts of the Union; and, therefore, the idea of sacrificing the former to the latter is wholly inadmissible.

The objectors do not advert to the natural strength and resources of State Governments, which will ever give them an important superiority over the General Government. If we compare the nature of their different powers, or the means of popular influence which each possesses, we shall find the advantage entirely on the side of the States. This consideration, important as it is, seems to have been little attended to. The aggregate number of Representatives throughout the States may be two thousand. Their personal influence will, therefore, be proportionably more extensive than that of one or two hundred men in Congress. The State establishments of civil and military officers of every description, infinitely surpassing in number any possible correspondent establishments in the General Government, will create such an extent and complication of attachments, as will ever secure the predilection and support of the people. Whenever, therefore, Congress shall meditate any infringement of the State constitutions, the great body of the people will naturally take part with their domestic Representatives. Can the General Government withstand such an united opposition? Will the people suffer themselves to be stripped of their privileges? Will they suffer their Legislatures to be reduced to a shadow and a name? The idea is shocking to common sense.

From the circumstances already explained, and many others which might be mentioned, result a complicated, irresistible check, which must ever support the existence and importance of the State Governments. The danger, if any exists, flows from an opposite source. The probable evil is, that the General Government will be too dependent on the State Legislatures, too much governed by their prejudices, and too obsequious to their humors; that the States, with every power in their hands, will make encroachments on the national authority, till the Union is weakened and dissolved.

Every member must have been struck with an observation of a gentleman from Albany. Do what you will, says he, local prejudices and opinions will go into the Government. What! shall we then form a Constitution to

cherish and strengthen these prejudices? Shall we confirm the distemper, instead of remedying it? It is undeniable that there must be a control somewhere. Either the general interest is to control the particular interests, or the contrary. If the former, then certainly the Government ought to be so framed as to render the power of control efficient to all intents and purposes; if the latter, a striking absurdity follows: the controlling powers must be as numerous as the varying interests, and the operations of the Government must, therefore, cease; for, the moment you accommodate these different interests — which is the only way to set the Government in motion — you establish a controlling power. Thus, whatever constitutional provisions are made to the contrary, every Government will be at last driven to the necessity of subjecting the partial to the universal interest. The gentlemen ought always, in their reasoning, to distinguish between the real, genuine good of a State, and the opinions and prejudices which may prevail respecting it; the latter may be opposed to the general good, and consequently ought to be sacrificed; the former is so involved in it, that it never can be sacrificed.

There are certain social principles in human nature from which we may draw the most solid conclusions with respect to the conduct of individuals and of communities. We love our families more than our neighbors; we love our neighbors more than our countrymen in general. The human affections, like the solar heat, lose their intensity as they depart from the center, and become languid in proportion to the expansion of the circle on which they act. On these principles, the attachment of the individual will be first and forever secured by the State Governments; they will be a mutual protection and support. Another source of influence, which has already been pointed out, is the various official connections in the States. Gentlemen endeavor to evade the force of this by saying that these offices will be insignificant. This is by no means true. The State officers will ever be important, because they are necessary and useful. Their powers are such as are extremely interesting to the people; such as affect their property, their liberty, and life. What is more important than the administration of justice and the execution of the civil and criminal laws? Can the State Governments become insignificant while they have the power of raising money, independently and without control? If they are really useful; if they are calculated to promote the essential interests of the people, they must have their confidence and support. The States can never lose their powers, till the whole people of America are robbed of their liberties. These must go together; they must support each other or meet one common fate. * * *

With regard to the jurisdiction of the two Governments, I shall certainly admit that the Constitution ought to be so formed as not to prevent the States

from providing for their own existence; and I maintain that it is so formed; and that their power of providing for themselves is sufficiently established. This is conceded by one gentleman, and in the next breath the concession is retracted. He says Congress has but one exclusive right in taxation — that of duties on imports; certainly, then, their other powers are only concurrent. * * * The laws of the United States are supreme as to all their proper, constitutional objects; the laws of the States are supreme in the same way. These supreme laws may act on different objects without clashing; or they may operate on different parts of the same common object with perfect harmony. Suppose both Governments should lay a tax of a penny on a certain article; has not each an independent and uncontrollable power to collect its own tax? The meaning of the maxim, there cannot be two supremes, is simply this: two powers cannot be supreme over each other. This meaning is entirely perverted by the gentlemen. But, it is said, disputes between collectors are to be referred to the Federal courts. This is again wandering in the field of conjecture. But suppose the fact is certain, is it not to be presumed that they will express the true meaning of the Constitution and the laws? Will they not be bound to consider the concurrent jurisdiction; to declare that both the taxes shall have equal operation; that both the powers, in that respect, are sovereign and co-extensive? If they transgress their duty, we are to hope that they will be punished. Sir, we can reason from probabilities alone. When we leave common sense and give ourselves up to conjecture, there can be no certainty, no security in our reasonings. * * *

(Delivered in the Convention of New York, June 24, 1788.)

The British Treaty.

By FISHER AMES, of Massachusetts.

(Born 1758, died 1808.)

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THE treaty is bad, fatally bad, is the cry. It sacrifices the interest, the honor, the independence of the United States, and the faith of our engagements to France. If we listen to the clamor of party intemperance, the evils are of a number not to be counted, and of a nature not to be borne, even in idea. The language of passion and exaggeration may silence that of sober reason in other places; it has not done it here. The question here is, whether the treaty be really so very fatal as to oblige the nation to break its faith. I admit that such a treaty ought not to be executed. I admit that self-preservation is the first law of society, as well as of individuals. It would, perhaps, be deemed an abuse of terms to call that a treaty which violates such a principle. I waive, also, for the present, any inquiry, what departments shall represent the nation, and annul the stipulations of a treaty. I content myself with pursuing the inquiry, whether the nature of this compact be such as to justify our refusal to carry it into effect. A treaty is the promise of a nation. Now, promises do not always bind him that makes them. But I lay down two rules, which ought to guide us in this case. The treaty must appear to be bad, not merely in the petty details, but in its character, principle, and mass. And in the next place, this ought to be ascertained by the decided and general concurrence of the enlightened public.

I confess there seems to be something very like ridicule thrown over the debate by the discussion of the articles in detail. The undecided point is, shall we break our faith? And while our country and enlightened Europe await the issue with more than curiosity, we are employed to gather piecemeal, and article by article, from the instrument, a justification for the deed by trivial calculations of commercial profit and loss. This is little worthy of the subject, of this body, or of the nation. If the treaty is bad, it will appear to be so in its mass. Evil to a fatal extreme, if that be its tendency, requires no proof; it brings it. Ex-

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tremes speak for themselves and make their own law. What if the direct voyage of American ships to Jamaica, with horses or lumber, might net one or two *per centum* more than the present trade to Surinam; would the proof of the fact avail anything in so grave a question as the violation of the public engagements? * * *

Why do they complain, that the West Indies are not laid open? Why do they lament, that any restriction is stipulated on the commerce of the East Indies? Why do they pretend, that if they reject this, and insist upon more, more will be accomplished? Let us be explicit — more would not satisfy. If all was granted, would not a treaty of amity with Great Britain still be obnoxious? Have we not this instant heard it urged against our envoy, that he was not ardent enough in his hatred of Great Britain? A treaty of amity is condemned because it was not made by a foe, and in the spirit of one. The same gentleman, at the same instant, repeats a very prevailing objection, that no treaty should be made with the enemy of France. No treaty, exclaim others, should be made with a monarch or a despot; there will be no naval security while those sea-robbers domineer on the ocean; their den must be destroyed; that nation must be extirpated.

I like this, sir, because it is sincerity. With feelings such as these, we do not pant for treaties. Such passions seek nothing, and will be content with nothing, but the destruction of their object. If a treaty left King George his island, it would not answer; not if he stipulated to pay rent for it. It has been said, the world ought to rejoice if Britain was sunk in the sea; if where there are now men and wealth and laws and liberty, there was no more than a sand bank for sea monsters to fatten on; a space for the storms of the ocean to mingle in conflict. * * *

What is patriotism? Is it a narrow affection for the spot where a man was born? Are the very clods where we tread entitled to this ardent preference because they are greener? No, sir, this is not the character of the virtue, and it soars higher for its object. It is an extended self-love, mingling with all the enjoyments of life, and twisting itself with the minutest filaments of the heart. It is thus we obey the laws of society, because they are the laws of virtue. In their authority we see, not the array of force and terror, but the venerable image of our country's honor. Every good citizen makes that honor his own, and cherishes it not only as precious, but as sacred. He is willing to risk his life in its defense, and is conscious that he gains protection while he gives it. For, what rights of a citizen will be deemed inviolable when a State renounces the principles that constitute their security? Or if his life should not be invaded, what would its enjoyments be in a country odious in the eyes of strangers and

dishonored in his own? Could he look with affection and veneration to such a country as his parent? The sense of having one would die within him; he would blush for his patriotism, if he retained any, and justly, for it would be a vice. He would be a banished man in his native land. I see no exception to the respect that is paid among nations to the law of good faith. If there are cases in this enlightened period when it is violated, there are none when it is decried. It is the philosophy of politics, the religion of governments. It is observed by barbarians — a whiff of tobacco smoke, or a string of beads, gives not merely binding force but sanctity to treaties. Even in Algiers, a truce may be bought for money, but when ratified, even Algiers is too wise, or too just, to disown and annul its obligation. Thus we see, neither the ignorance of savages, nor the principles of an association for piracy and rapine, permit a nation to despise its engagements. If, sir, there could be a resurrection from the foot of the gallows, if the victims of justice could live again, collect together and form a society, they would, however loath, soon find themselves obliged to make justice, that justice under which they fell, the fundamental law of their State. They would perceive, it was their interest to make others respect, and they would, therefore, soon pay some respect themselves, to the obligations of good faith.

It is painful, I hope it is superfluous, to make even the supposition, that America should furnish the occasion of this opprobrium. No, let me not even imagine, that a Republican government, sprung, as our own is, from a people enlightened and uncorrupted, a government whose origin is right, and whose daily discipline is duty, can, upon solemn debate, make its option to be faithless — can dare to act what despots dare not avow, what our own example evinces, the States of Barbary are unsuspected of. No, let me rather make the supposition, that Great Britain refuses to execute the treaty, after we have done everything to carry it into effect. Is there any language of reproach pungent enough to express your commentary on the fact? What would you say, or rather what would you not say? Would you not tell them, wherever an Englishman might travel, shame would stick to him — he would disown his country. You would exclaim, England, proud of your wealth, and arrogant in the possession of power — blush for these distinctions, which become the vehicles of your dishonor. Such a nation might truly say to corruption, thou art my father, and to the worm, thou art my mother and my sister. We should say of such a race of men, their name is a heavier burden than their debt. * * *

(Delivered in the House of Representatives, April 28, 1796.)

Inaugural Address.

By THOMAS JEFFERSON, of Virginia.

(Born 1743, died 1826.)

FRIENDS AND FELLOW CITIZENS: Called upon to undertake the duties of the first executive office of our country, I avail myself of the presence of that portion of my fellow citizens which is here assembled, to express my grateful thanks for the favor with which they have been pleased to look toward me, to declare a sincere consciousness, that the task is above my talents, and that I approach it with those anxious and awful presentiments, which the greatness of the charge, and the weakness of my powers, so justly inspire. A rising nation, spread over a wide and fruitful land, traversing all the seas with the rich productions of their industry, engaged in commerce with nations who feel power and forget right, advancing rapidly to destinies beyond the reach of mortal eye; when I contemplate these transcendent objects, and see the honor, the happiness, and the hopes of this beloved country committed to the issue and the auspices of this day, I shrink from the contemplation, and humble myself before the magnitude of the undertaking. Utterly, indeed, should I despair, did not the presence of many, whom I see here, remind me, that, in the other high authorities provided by our Constitution, I shall find resources of wisdom, of virtue, and of zeal, on which to rely under all difficulties. To you, then, gentlemen, who are charged with the sovereign functions of legislation, and to those associated with you, I look with encouragement for that guidance and support which may enable us to steer with safety the vessel in which we are all embarked, amidst the conflicting elements of a troubled world.

During the contest of opinion through which we have passed, the animation of discussions and of exertions has sometimes worn an aspect which might impose on strangers unused to think freely, and to speak and to write what they think; but this being now decided by the voice of the nation, announced according to the rules of the Constitution, all will of course arrange themselves under the will of the law, and unite in common efforts for the common good. All, too, will bear in mind this sacred principle, that though the will of the majority is in all cases to prevail, that will, to be rightful, must be reasonable; that the minority possess their equal rights, which equal laws must protect, and to violate

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which would be oppression. Let us then, fellow citizens, unite with one heart and one mind, let us restore to social intercourse that harmony and affection without which liberty and even life itself are but dreary things. And let us reflect, that having banished from our land that religious intolerance under which mankind so long bled and suffered, we have yet gained little, if we countenance a political intolerance, as despotic, as wicked, and as capable of as bitter and bloody persecutions. During the throes and convulsions of the ancient world, during the agonizing spasms of infuriated man, seeking through blood and slaughter his long-lost liberty, it was not wonderful that the agitation of the billows should reach even this distant and peaceful shore; that this should be more felt and feared by some, and less by others, and should divide opinions as to measures of safety; but every difference of opinion is not a difference of principle. We have called by different names brethren of the same principle. We are all Republicans; we are all Federalists. If there be any among us who wish to dissolve this Union, or to change its republican form, let them stand undisturbed as monuments of the safety with which error of opinion may be tolerated, where reason is left free to combat it. I know, indeed, that some honest men fear that a republican government cannot be strong; that this Government is not strong enough. But would the honest patriot, in the full tide of successful experiment, abandon a government which has so far kept us free and firm, on the theoretic and visionary fear, that this Government, the world's best hope, may, by possibility, want energy to preserve itself? I trust not. I believe this, on the contrary, the strongest government on earth. I believe it the only one where every man, at the call of the law, would fly to the standard of the law, and would meet invasions of the public order as his own personal concern. Sometimes it is said, that man cannot be trusted with the government of himself. Can he then be trusted with the government of others? Or, have we found angels in the form of kings, to govern him? Let history answer this question.

Let us then, with courage and confidence, pursue our own federal and republican principles; our attachment to union and representative government. Kindly separated by nature and a wide ocean from the exterminating havoc of one quarter of the globe; too high-minded to endure the degradation of the others, possessing a chosen country, with room enough for our descendants to the thousandth and thousandth generation, entertaining a due sense of our equal right to the use of our own faculties, to the acquisition of our own industry, to honor and confidence from our fellow citizens, resulting not from birth, but from our actions and their sense of them, enlightened by a benign religion, professed indeed and practiced in various forms, yet all of them inculcating honesty, truth, temperance, gratitude, and the love of man, acknowledging and

adoring an overruling Providence, which, by all its dispensations, proves that it delights in the happiness of man here, and his greater happiness hereafter; with all these blessings, what more is necessary to make us a happy and prosperous people? Still one thing more, fellow citizens, a wise and frugal government, which shall restrain men from injuring one another, shall leave them otherwise free to regulate their own pursuits of industry and improvement, and shall not take from the mouth of labor the bread it has earned. This is the sum of good government; and this is necessary to close the circle of our felicities.

About to enter, fellow citizens, upon the exercise of duties which comprehend everything dear and valuable to you, it is proper you should understand what I deem the essential principles of our Government, and, consequently, those which ought to shape its administration. I will compress them within the narrowest compass they will bear, stating the general principle, but not all its limitations. Equal and exact justice to all men, of whatever state or persuasion, religious or political; peace, commerce, and honest friendship with all nations, entangling alliances with none; the support of the State Governments in all their rights, as the most competent administrations for our domestic concerns, and the surest bulwarks against anti-republican tendencies; the preservation of the General Government in its whole constitutional vigor, as the sheet-anchor of our peace at home and safety abroad; a jealous care of the right of election by the people, a mild and safe corrective of abuses which are lopped by the sword of revolution where peaceable remedies are unprovided; absolute acquiescence in the decisions of the majority, the vital principle of republics, from which there is no appeal but to force, the vital principle and immediate parent of despotism; a well-disciplined militia, our best reliance in peace, and for the first moments of war, till regulars may relieve them; the supremacy of the civil over the military authority; economy in the public expense, that labor may be lightly burdened; the honest payment of our debts, and sacred preservation of the public faith; encouragement of agriculture, and of commerce as its handmaid; the diffusion of information, and arraignment of all abuses at the bar of the public reason; freedom of religion, freedom of the press, and freedom of person, under the protection of the *habeas corpus*, and trial by juries impartially selected. These principles form the bright constellation, which has gone before us, and guided our steps through an age of revolution and reformation. The wisdom of our sages, and blood of our heroes, have been devoted to their attainment; they should be the creed of our political faith, the text of civic instruction, the touchstone by which to try the services of those we trust; and should we wander from them in moments of error or of alarm, let us hasten to retrace our steps, and to regain the road which alone leads to peace, liberty, and safety. * * *

(Delivered at Washington, March 4, 1801.)

The Militia Bill.

By JOHN RANDOLPH, of Virginia.

(Born 1773, died 1833.)

MR. SPEAKER: This is a question, as it has been presented to this House, of peace or war. In that light it has been argued; in no other light can I consider it, after the declarations made by members of the Committee of Foreign Relations. * * *

I cannot refrain from smiling at the liberality of the gentleman in giving Canada to New York in order to strengthen the northern balance of power; while, at the same time, he forewarns her that the western scale must preponderate. I can almost fancy that I see the Capitol in motion toward the falls of Ohio; after a short sojourn, taking its flight to the Mississippi, and finally alighting at Darien; which, when the gentleman's dreams are realized, will be a most eligible seat of government for the new republic (or empire) of the two Americas! But it seems that in 1808 we talked and acted foolishly, and to give some color of consistency to that folly we must now commit a greater.

I hope we shall act a wise part; take warning by our follies since we have become sensible of them, and resolve to talk and act foolishly no more. It is, indeed, high time to give over such preposterous language and proceedings. This war of conquest, a war for the acquisition of territory and subjects, is to be a new commentary on the doctrine that republicans are destitute of ambition; that they are addicted to peace, wedded to the happiness and safety of the great body of their people. But it seems this is to be a holiday campaign; there is to be no expense of blood, or of treasure on our part; Canada is to conquer herself; she is to be subdued by the principles of fraternity! The people of that country are first to be seduced from their allegiance and converted into traitors, as preparatory to making them good citizens! Although I must acknowledge that some of our flaming patriots were thus manufactured, I do not think the process would hold good with a whole community. It is a dangerous experiment. We are to succeed in the French mode, by the system of fraternization — all is French. But how dreadfully it might be retorted on the Southern and Western slave-holding States. I detest this subornation of treason. No; if we

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must have them, let them fall by the valor of our arms; by fair, legitimate conquest; not become the victims of treacherous seduction.

I am not surprised at the war spirit which is manifesting itself in gentlemen from the South. In the years 1805–1806, in a struggle for the carrying trade of belligerent colonial produce, this country was most unwisely brought into collision with the great powers of Europe. By a series of most impolitic and ruinous measures, utterly incomprehensible to every rational, sober-minded man, the Southern planters, by their own votes, have succeeded in knocking down the price of cotton to seven cents, and of tobacco (a few choice crops excepted) to nothing; and in raising the price of blankets (of which a few would not be amiss in a Canadian campaign), coarse woollens, and every article of first necessity, three or four hundred *per centum*. And now, that by our own acts, we have brought ourselves into this unprecedented condition, we must get out of it in any way, but by an acknowledgment of our own want of wisdom and forecast. But is war the true remedy? Who will profit by it? Speculators; a few lucky merchants, who draw prizes in the lottery; commissaries and contractors. Who must suffer by it? The people. It is their blood, their taxes that must flow to support it. * * *

I am gratified to find gentlemen acknowledging the demoralizing and destructive consequences of the non-importation law; confessing the truth of all that its opponents foretold, when it was enacted. And will you plunge yourselves in war, because you have passed a foolish and ruinous law, and are ashamed to repeal it? "But our good friend, the French Emperor, stands in the way of its repeal, and we cannot go too far in making sacrifices to him, who has given such demonstration of his love for the Americans; we must, in point of fact, become parties to his war. Who can be so cruel as to refuse him that favor?" My imagination shrinks from the miseries of such a connection. I call upon the House to reflect, whether they are not about to abandon all reclamation for the unparalleled outrages, "insults, and injuries" of the French Government; to give up our claim for plundered millions; and I ask what reparation or atonement they can expect to obtain in hours of future dalliance, after they shall have made a tender of their person to this great deflowerer of the virginity of Republics. We have, by our own wise (I will not say wiseacre) measures, so increased the trade and wealth of Montreal and Quebec, that at last we begin to cast a wistful eye at Canada. Having done so much toward its improvement, by the exercise of "our restrictive energies," we begin to think the laborer worthy of his hire, and to put in a claim for our portion. Suppose it ours, are we any nearer to our point? As his Minister said to the King of Epirus, "May we not as well take our bottle of wine before as after this exploit?" Go! march

to Canada! leave the broad bosom of the Chesapeake and her hundred tributary rivers; the whole line of sea coast from Machias to St. Mary's, unprotected! You have taken Quebec — have you conquered England? Will you seek for the deep foundations of her power in the frozen deserts of Labrador?

Will you call upon her to leave your ports and harbors untouched only just till you can return from Canada, to defend them? The coast is to be left defenseless, while men of the interior are reveling in conquest and spoil. * * *

No sooner was the report laid on the table, than the vultures were flocking around their prey — the carcass of a great military establishment. Men of tainted reputation, of broken fortune (if they ever had any), and of battered constitutions, "choice spirits tired of the dull pursuits of civil life," were seeking after agencies and commissions, willing to doze in gross stupidity over the public fire; to light the public candle at both ends. Honorable men undoubtedly there are ready to serve their country; but what man of spirit, or of self-respect, will accept a commission in the present army? The gentleman from Tennessee (Mr. Grundy) addressed himself yesterday exclusively to the "Republicans of the House." I know not whether I may consider myself as entitled to any part of the benefit of the honorable gentleman's discourse. It belongs not, however, to that gentleman to decide. If we must have an exposition of the doctrines of republicanism, I shall receive it from the fathers of the church, and not from the junior apprentices of the law. * * *

Make it out that Great Britain has instigated the Indians on a late occasion, and I am ready for battle, but not for dominion. I am unwilling, however, under present circumstances, to take Canada, at the risk of the Constitution, to embark in a common cause with France, and be dragged at the wheels of the car of some Burr or Bonaparte. For a gentleman from Tennessee, or Genesee, or Lake Champlain, there may be some prospect of advantage. Their hemp would bear a great price by the exclusion of foreign supply. In that, too, the great importers are deeply interested. The upper country of the Hudson and the lakes would be enriched by the supplies for the troops, which they alone could furnish. They would have the exclusive market; to say nothing of the increased preponderance from the acquisition of Canada and that section of the Union, which the Southern and Western States have already felt so severely in the apportionment bill. * * *

The great autocrat of all the Russias receives the homage of our high consideration. The Dey of Algiers and his divan of pirates are very civil, good sort of people, with whom we find no difficulty in maintaining the relations of peace and amity. "Turks, Jews, and infidels;" Melimelli or the Little Turtle; barbarians and savages of every clime and color, are welcome to our arms. With

chiefs of banditti, negro or mulatto, we can treat and trade. Name, however, but England, and all our antipathies are up in arms against her. Against whom? Against those whose blood runs in our veins; in common with whom, we claim Shakespeare, and Newton, and Chatham, for our countrymen; whose form of government is the freest on earth, our own only excepted; from whom every valuable principle of our own institutions has been borrowed — representation, jury trial, voting the supplies, writ of *habeas corpus*, our whole civil and criminal jurisprudence;— against our fellow Protestants, identified in blood, in language, in religion, with ourselves. In what school did the worthies of our land, the Washingtons, Henrys, Hancocks, Franklins, Rutledges of America learn those principles of civil liberty which were so nobly asserted by their wisdom and valor? American resistance to British usurpation has not been more warmly cherished by these great men and their compatriots; not more by Washington, Hancock, and Henry, than by Chatham and his illustrious associates in the British Parliament. It ought to be remembered, too, that the heart of the English people was with us. It was a selfish and corrupt Ministry, and their servile tools, to whom we were not more opposed than they were. I trust that none such may ever exist among us; for tools will never be wanting to subserve the purposes, however ruinous or wicked, of kings and ministers of state. I acknowledge the influence of a Shakespeare and a Milton upon my imagination, of a Locke upon my understanding, of a Sidney upon my political principles, of a Chatham upon qualities which, would to God, I possessed in common with that illustrious man! of a Tillotson, a Sherlock, and a Porteus upon my religion. This is a British influence which I can never shake off. * * *

(Delivered in the House of Representatives, December 10, 1811.)

The War of 1812.

By HENRY CLAY, of Kentucky.

(Born 1777. died 1852.)

SIR, gentlemen appear to me to forget that they stand on American soil; that they are not in the British House of Commons, but in the chamber of the House of Representatives of the United States; that we have nothing to do with the affairs of Europe, the partition of territory and sovereignty there, except so far as these things affect the interests of our own country. Gentlemen transform themselves into the Burkes, Chathams, and Pitts of another country, and, forgetting, from honest zeal, the interests of America, engage with European sensibility in the discussion of European interests. If gentlemen ask me whether I do not view with regret and horror the concentration of such vast power in the hands of Bonaparte, I reply that I do. I regret to see the Emperor of China holding such immense sway over the fortunes of millions of our species. I regret to see Great Britain possessing so uncontrolled a command over all the waters of the globe. If I had the ability to distribute among the nations of Europe their several portions of power and of sovereignty, I would say that Holland should be resuscitated and given the weight she enjoyed in the days of her DeWitts. I would confine France within her natural boundaries, the Alps, Pyrenees, and the Rhine, and make her a secondary naval power only. I would abridge the British maritime power, raise Prussia and Austria to their original condition, and preserve the integrity of the Empire of Russia. But these are speculations. I look at the political transactions of Europe, with the single exception of their possible bearing upon us, as I do at the history of other countries and other times. I do not survey them with half the interest that I do the movements in South America. Our political relation with them is much less important than it is supposed to be. I have no fears of French or English subjugation. If we are united, we are too powerful for the mightiest nation in Europe or all Europe combined. If we are separated and torn asunder, we shall become an easy prey to the weakest of them. In the latter dreadful contingency our country will not be worth preserving.

Next to the notice which the opposition has found itself called upon to bestow upon the French Emperor, a distinguished citizen of Virginia, formerly President of the United States, has never for a moment failed to receive their kindest and most respectful attention. An honorable gentleman from Massachusetts (Mr. Quincy), of whom, I am sorry to say, it becomes necessary for me, in the course of my remarks, to take some notice, has alluded to him in a remarkable manner. Neither his retirement from public office, his eminent services, nor his advanced age, can exempt this patriot from the coarse assaults of party malevolence. No, sir. In 1801 he snatched from the rude hand of usurpation the violated Constitution of his country, and that is his crime. He preserved that instrument, in form, and substance, and spirit, a precious inheritance for generations to come, and for this he can never be forgiven. How vain and impotent is party rage, directed against such a man. He is not more elevated by his lofty residence, upon the summit of his own favorite mountain, than he is lifted, by the serenity of his mind, and the consciousness of a well-spent life, above the malignant passions and bitter feelings of the day. No! his own beloved Monticello is not less moved by the storms that beat against its sides than is this illustrious man by the howlings of the whole British pack, set loose from the Essex kennel. When the gentleman to whom I have been compelled to allude shall have mingled his dust with that of his abused ancestors, when he shall have been consigned to oblivion, or, if he lives at all, shall live only in the treasonable annals of a certain junto, the name of Jefferson will be hailed with gratitude, his memory honored and cherished as the second founder of the liberties of the people, and the period of his administration will be looked back to as one of the happiest and brightest epochs of American history; an oasis in the midst of a sandy desert. But I beg the gentleman's pardon; he has already secured to himself a more imperishable fame than I had supposed; I think it was about four years ago that he submitted to the House of Representatives an initiative proposition for the impeachment of Mr. Jefferson. The House condescended to consider it. The gentleman debated it with his usual temper, moderation, and urbanity. The House decided upon it in the most solemn manner, and, although the gentleman had somehow obtained a second, the final vote stood one for, and one hundred and seventeen against, the proposition.

* * *

But, sir, I must speak of another subject, which I never think of but with feelings of the deepest awe. The gentleman from Massachusetts, in imitation of some of his predecessors of 1799, has entertained us with a picture of Cabinet plots, presidential plots, and all sorts of plots, which have been engendered by the diseased state of the gentleman's imagination. I wish, sir, that another

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plot, of a much more serious and alarming character — a plot that aims at the dismemberment of our Union — had only the same imaginary existence. But no man, who has paid any attention to the tone of certain prints and to transactions in a particular quarter of the Union, for several years past, can doubt the existence of such a plot. It was far, very far from my intention to charge the opposition with such a design. No; I believe them generally incapable of it. But I cannot say as much for some who have been unworthily associated with them in the quarter of the Union to which I have referred. The gentleman cannot have forgotten his own sentiment, uttered even on the floor of this House, "peaceably if we can, forcibly if we must," nearly at the very time Henry's mission was undertaken. The flagitiousness of that embassy had been attempted to be concealed by directing the public attention to the price which, the gentleman says, was given for the disclosure. As if any price could change the atrociousness of the attempt on the part of Great Britain, or could extenuate, in the slightest degree, the offense of those citizens, who entertained and deliberated on a proposition so infamous and unnatural. * * * But, sir, I will quit this unpleasant subject. * * *

The war was declared because Great Britain arrogated to herself the pretension of regulating our foreign trade, under the delusive name of retaliatory orders in council — a pretension by which she undertook to proclaim to American enterprise, "thus far shalt thou go, and no further" — orders which she refused to revoke after the alleged cause of their enactment had ceased; because she persisted in the practice of impressing American seamen; because she had instigated the Indians to commit hostilities against us; and because she refused indemnity for her past injuries upon our commerce. I throw out of the question other wrongs. So undeniable were the causes of the war, so powerfully did they address themselves to the feelings of the whole American people, that when the bill was pending before this House, gentlemen in the opposition, although provoked to debate, would not, or could not, utter one syllable against it. It is true, they wrapped themselves up in sullen silence, pretending they did not choose to debate such a question in secret session. While speaking of the proceedings on that occasion, I beg to be permitted to advert to another fact which transpired — an important fact, material for the nation to know, and which I have often regretted had not been spread upon our journals. My honorable colleague (Mr. McKee) moved, in committee of the whole, to comprehend France in the war; and when the question was taken upon the proposition, there appeared but ten votes in support of it, of whom seven belonged to this side of the House, and three only to the other. * * *

It is not to the British principle (of allegiance), objectionable as it is, that

we are alone to look; it is to her practice, no matter what guise she puts on. It is in vain to assert the inviolability of the obligation of allegiance. It is in vain to set up the plea of necessity, and to allege that she cannot exist without the impressment of HER seamen. The naked truth is, she comes, by her press-gangs, on board of our vessels, seizes OUR native as well as naturalized seamen, and drags them into her service. It is the case, then, of the assertion of an erroneous principle, and of a practice not conformable to the asserted principle -- a principle which, if it were theoretically right, must be forever practically wrong — a practice which can obtain countenance from no principle whatever, and to submit to which, on our part, would betray the most abject degradation. We are told, by gentlemen in the opposition, that Government has not done all that was incumbent on it to do, to avoid just cause of complaint on the part of Great Britain; that in particular the certificates of protection, authorized by the act of 1796, are fraudulently used. Sir, Government has done too much in granting those paper protections. I can never think of them without being shocked. They resemble the passes which the master grants to his negro slave: "Let the bearer, Mungo, pass and repass without molestation." What do they imply? That Great Britain has a right to seize all who are not provided with them. From their very nature, they must be liable to abuse on both sides. If Great Britain desires a mark by which she can know her own subjects, let her give them an earmark. The colors that float from the masthead should be the credentials of our seamen. There is no safety to us, and the gentlemen have shown it, but in the rule that all who sail under the flag (not being enemies) are protected by the flag. It is impossible that this country should ever abandon the gallant tars who have won for us such splendid trophies. Let me suppose that the genius of Columbia should visit one of them in his oppressor's prison, and attempt to reconcile him to his forlorn and wretched condition. She would say to him, in the language of gentlemen on the other side: "Great Britain intends you no harm; she did not mean to impress you, but one of her own subjects; having taken you by mistake, I will remonstrate, and try to prevail upon her, by peaceable means, to release you; but I cannot, my son, fight for you." If he did not consider this mere mockery, the poor tar would address her judgment and say: "You owe me, my country, protection; I owe you, in return, obedience. I am no British subject; I am a native of old Massachusetts, where lived my aged father, my wife, my children. I have faithfully discharged my duty. Will you refuse to do yours?" Appealing to her passions, he would continue: "I lost this eye in fighting under Truxton, with the *Insurgente;* I got this scar before Tripoli; I broke this leg on board the *Constitution,* when the *Guerrière* struck." * * * I will not imagine the dreadful

catastrophe to which he would be driven by an abandonment of him to his oppressor. It will not be, it cannot be, that his country will refuse him protection. * * *

An honorable peace is attainable only by an efficient war. My plan would be to call out the ample resources of the country, give them a judicious direction, prosecute the war with the utmost vigor, strike wherever we can reach the enemy, at sea or on land, and negotiate the terms of a peace at Quebec or at Halifax. We are told that England is a proud and lofty nation, which, disdaining to wait for danger, meets it half way. Haughty as she is we triumphed over her once, and, if we do not listen to the counsels of timidity and despair, we shall again prevail. In such a cause, with the aid of Providence, we must come out crowned with success; but, if we fail, let us fail like men, lash ourselves to our gallant tars, and expire together in one common struggle, fighting for FREE TRADE AND SEAMEN'S RIGHTS.

(Delivered in the House of Representatives, January 8, 1813.)

Foot's Resolution.

By ROBERT Y. HAYNE, of South Carolina.

(Born 1791, died 1840.)

MR. SPEAKER: Sir, I question no man's opinions; I impeach no man's motives; I charged no party, or State, or section of country with hostility to any other, but ventured, as I thought, in a becoming spirit, to put forth my own sentiments in relation to a great national question of public policy. Such was my course. The gentleman from Missouri (Mr. Benton), it is true, had charged upon the Eastern States an early and continued hostility toward the West, and referred to a number of historical facts and documents in support of that charge. Now, sir, how have these different arguments been met? The honorable gentleman from Massachusetts, after deliberating a whole night upon his course, comes into this chamber to vindicate New England; and instead of making up his issue with the gentleman from Missouri, on the charges which *he had preferred*, chooses to consider me as the author of those charges, and losing sight entirely of that gentleman, selects me as his adversary, and pours out all the vials of his mighty wrath upon my devoted head. Nor is he willing to stop there. He goes on to assail the institutions and policy of the South, and calls in question the principles and conduct of the State which I have the honor to represent. When I find a gentleman of mature age and experience, of acknowledged talents and profound sagacity, pursuing a course like this, declining the contest offered from the West, and making war upon the unoffending South, I must believe, I am bound to believe, he has some object in view which he has not ventured to disclose. Mr. President, why is this? Has the gentleman discovered in former controversies with the gentleman from Missouri that he is overmatched by that Senator? And does he hope for an easy victory over a more feeble adversary? Has the gentleman's distempered fancy been disturbed by gloomy forebodings of "new alliances to be formed," at which he hinted? Has the ghost of the murdered coalition come back, like the ghost of Banquo, to "sear the eyeballs" of the gentleman, and will not down at his bidding? Are dark visions of broken hopes and honors lost forever still floating before his heated

imagination? Sir, if it be his object to thrust me between the gentleman from Missouri and himself, in order to rescue the East from the contest it has provoked with the West, he shall not be gratified. Sir, I will not be dragged into the defense of my friend from Missouri. The South shall not be forced into a conflict not its own. The gentleman from Missouri is able to fight his own battles. The gallant West needs no aid from the South to repel any attack which may be made upon them from any quarter. Let the gentleman from Massachusetts controvert the facts and arguments of the gentleman from Missouri, if he can — and if he win the victory, let him wear the honors; I shall not deprive him of his laurels. * * *

Sir, anyone acquainted with the history of parties in this country will recognize in the points now in dispute between the Senator from Massachusetts and myself the very grounds which have, from the beginning, divided the two great parties in this country, and which (call these parties by what names you will, and *amalgamate* them as you may) will divide them forever. The true distinction between those parties is laid down in a celebrated manifesto issued by the convention of the Federalists of Massachusetts, assembled in Boston, in February, 1824, on the occasion of organizing a party opposition to the re-election of Governor Eustis. The gentleman will recognize this as "the canonical book of political scripture;" and it instructs us that, when the American colonies redeemed themselves from British bondage, and became so many *independent nations*, they proposed to form a NATIONAL UNION (not a *Federal* Union, sir, but a NATIONAL UNION). Those who were in favor of a union of the States in this form became known by the name of Federalists; those who wanted no union of the States, or disliked the proposed form of union, became known by the name of Anti-Federalists. By means which need not be enumerated, the Anti-Federalists became (after the expiration of twelve years) our national rulers, and for a period of sixteen years, until the close of Mr. Madison's administration in 1817, continued to exercise the exclusive direction of our public affairs. Here, sir, is the true history of the origin, rise, and progress of the party of National Republicans, who date back to the very origin of the Government, and who then, as now, choose to consider the Constitution as having created not a Federal, but a National, union; who regarded "consolidation" as no evil, and who doubtless consider it "a consummation to be wished" to build up a great "central government," "one and indivisible." Sir, there have existed, in every age and every country, two distinct orders of men — the *lovers of freedom* and the devoted *advocates of power*.

The same great leading principles, modified only by the peculiarities of manners, habits, and institutions, divided parties in the ancient republics, ani-

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mated the Whigs and Tories of Great Britain, distinguished in our times the Liberals and Ultras of France, and may be traced even in the bloody struggles of unhappy Spain. Sir, when the gallant Riego, who devoted himself and all that he possessed to the liberties of his country, was dragged to the scaffold, followed by the tears and lamentations of every lover of freedom throughout the world, he perished amid the deafening cries of "Long live the absolute king!" The people whom I represent, Mr. President, are the descendants of those who brought with them to this country, as the most precious of their possessions, "an ardent love of liberty;" and while that shall be preserved, they will always be found manfully struggling against the *consolidation of the Government* AS THE WORST OF EVILS. * * *

Who, then, Mr. President, are the true friends of the Union? Those who would confine the Federal Government strictly within the limits prescribed by the Constitution; who would preserve to the States and the people all powers not expressly delegated; who would make this a Federal and not a National Union, and who, administering the Government in a spirit of equal justice, would make it a blessing, and not a curse. And who are its enemies? Those who are in favor of consolidation; who are constantly stealing power from the States, and adding strength to the Federal Government; who, assuming an unwarrantable jurisdiction over the States and the people, undertake to regulate the whole industry and capital of the country. But, sir, of all descriptions of men, I consider those as the worst enemies of the Union, who sacrifice the equal rights which belong to every member of the confederacy to combinations of interested majorities for personal or political objects. But the gentleman apprehends no evil from the dependence of the States on the Federal Government; he can see no danger of corruption from the influence of money or patronage. Sir, I know that it is supposed to be a wise saying that "patronage is a source of weakness;" and in support of that maxim it has been said that "every ten appointments make a hundred enemies." But I am rather inclined to think, with the eloquent and sagacious orator now reposing on his laurels on the banks of the Roanoke, that "the power of conferring favors creates a crowd of dependents;" he gave a forcible illustration of the truth of the remark, when he told us of the effect of holding up the savory morsel to the eager eyes of the hungry hounds gathered around his door. It mattered not whether the gift was bestowed on "Towzer" or "Sweetlips," "Tray," "Blanche," or 'Sweetheart;" while held in suspense, they were all governed by a nod, and when the morsel was bestowed, the expectation of the favors of to-morrow kept up the subjection of to-day.

The Senator from Massachusetts, in denouncing what he is pleased to call

the Carolina doctrine, has attempted to throw ridicule upon the idea that a State has any constitutional remedy by the exercise of its sovereign authority, against "a gross, palpable, and deliberate violation of the Constitution." He calls it "an idle" or "a ridiculous notion," or something to that effect, and added, that it would make the Union a "mere rope of sand." Now, sir, as the gentleman has not condescended to enter into any examination of the question, and has been satisfied with throwing the weight of his authority into the scale, I do not deem it necessary to do more than to throw into the opposite scale the authority on which South Carolina relies; and there, for the present, I am perfectly willing to leave the controversy. The South Carolina doctrine, that is to say, the doctrine contained in an exposition reported by a committee of the Legislature in December, 1828, and published by their authority, is the good old Republican doctrine of '98 — the doctrine of the celebrated "Virginia Resolutions" of that year, and of "Madison's Report" of '99. It will be recollected that the Legislature of Virginia, in December, '98, took into consideration the alien and sedition laws, then considered by all Republicans as a gross violation of the Constitution of the United States, and on that day passed, among others, the following resolution:

"The General Assembly doth explicitly and peremptorily declare, that it views the powers of the Federal Government, as resulting from the compact to which the States are parties, as limited by the plain sense and intention of the instrument constituting that compact, as no further valid than they are authorized by the grants enumerated in that compact; and that in case of a deliberate, palpable, and dangerous exercise of other powers not granted by the said compact, the States who are the parties thereto have the right, and are in duty bound, to interpose for arresting the progress of the evil, and for maintaining within their respective limits the authorities, rights, and liberties appertaining to them."

In addition to the above resolution, the General Assembly of Virginia "appealed to the other States, in the confidence that they would concur with that commonwealth, that the acts aforesaid (the alien and sedition laws) are unconstitutional, and that the necessary and proper measures would be taken by each for co-operating with Virginia in maintaining unimpaired the authorities, rights, and liberties reserved to the States respectively, or to the people." * * *

But, sir, our authorities do not stop here. The State of Kentucky responded to Virginia, and on the 10th of November, 1798, adopted those celebrated resolutions, well known to have been penned by the author of the Declaration of American Independence. In those resolutions, the Legislature of Kentucky declare, "that the government created by this compact was not made the exclu-

sive of final judge of the extent of the power delegated to itself, since that would have made its discretion, and not the Constitution, the measure of its powers; but that, as in all other cases of compact among parties having no common judge, each party has an equal right to judge for itself as well of infractions as of the mode and measure of redress." * * *

I should suppose, sir, it would require more self-respect than any gentleman here would be willing to assume, to treat lightly doctrines derived from such high sources. Resting on authority like this, I will ask, gentlemen, whether South Carolina has not manifested a high regard for the Union, when, under a tyranny ten times more grievous than the alien and sedition laws, she has hitherto gone no further than to petition, remonstrate, and to solemnly protest against a series of measures which she believes to be wholly unconstitutional and utterly destructive of her interests. Sir, South Carolina has not gone one step farther than Mr. Jefferson himself was disposed to go, in relation to the present subject of our present complaints — not a step farther than the statesmen from New England were disposed to go under similar circumstances; no farther than the Senator from Massachusetts himself once considered as within "the limits of a constitutional opposition." The doctrine that it is the right of a State to judge of the violations of the Constitution on the part of the Federal Government, and to protect her citizens from the operations of unconstitutional laws, was held by the enlightened citizens of Boston, who assembled in Faneuil Hall, on the 25th of January, 1809. * * *

Thus it will be seen, Mr. President, that the South Carolina doctrine is the Republican doctrine of '98,— that it was promulgated by the fathers of the faith,— that it was maintained by Virginia and Kentucky in the worst of times,— that it constituted the very pivot on which the political revolution of that day turned,— that it embraces the very principles, the triumph of which, at that time, saved the Constitution at its last gasp, and which New England statesmen were not unwilling to adopt when they believed themselves to be the victims of unconstitutional legislation. Sir, as to the doctrine that the Federal Government is the exclusive judge of the extent as well as the limitations of its power, it seems to me to be utterly subversive of the sovereignty and independence of the States. It makes but little difference, in my estimation, whether Congress or the Supreme Court are invested with this power. If the Federal Government, in all, or any, of its departments, is to prescribe the limits of its own authority, and the States are bound to submit to the decision, and are not to be allowed to examine and decide for themselves when the barriers of the Constitution shall be overleaped, this is practically "a government without limitation of powers." The States are at once reduced to mere petty corporations,

and the people are entirely at your mercy. I have but one word more to add. In all the efforts that have been made by South Carolina to resist the unconstitutional laws which Congress has extended over them, she has kept steadily in view the preservation of the Union, by the only means by which she believes it can be long preserved — a firm, manly, and steady resistance against usurpation. The measures of the Federal Government have, it is true, prostrated her interests, and will soon involve the whole South in irretrievable ruin. But even this evil, great as it is, is not the chief ground of our complaints. It is the principle involved in the contest — a principle which, substituting the discretion of Congress for the limitations of the Constitution, brings the States and the people to the feet of the Federal Government, and leaves them nothing they can call their own. Sir, if the measures of the Federal Government were less oppressive, we should still strive against this usurpation. The South is acting on a principle she has always held sacred — resistance to unauthorized taxation. These, sir, are the principles which induced the immortal Hampden to resist the payment of a tax of twenty shillings. Would twenty shillings have ruined his fortune? No! but the payment of half of twenty shillings, on the principle on which it was demanded, would have made him a slave. Sir, if acting on these high motives — if animated by that ardent love of liberty which has always been the most prominent trait in the Southern character, we would be hurried beyond the bounds of a cold and calculating prudence; who is there, with one noble and generous sentiment in his bosom, who would not be disposed, in the language of Burke, to exclaim, "You must pardon something to the spirit of liberty?"

(Delivered in the United States Senate, January 21, 1830.)

Reply to Hayne.

By DANIEL WEBSTER, of Massachusetts.

(Born 1782, died 1852.)

* * * * * * * *

PROFESSING to be provoked by what he chose to consider a charge made by me against South Carolina, the honorable member, Mr. President, has taken up a crusade against New England. Leaving altogether the subject of the public lands, in which his success, perhaps, had been neither distinguished nor satisfactory, and letting go, also, of the topic of the tariff, he sallied forth in a general assault on the opinions, politics, and parties of New England, as they have been exhibited in the last thirty years. * * *

New England has, at times, so argues the gentleman, held opinions as dangerous as those which he now holds. Suppose this were so; how should *he*, therefore, abuse New England? If he find himself countenanced by acts of hers, how is it that, while he relies on these acts, he covers, or seeks to cover, their authors with reproach? But, sir, if in the course of forty years, there have been undue effervescences of party in New England, has the same thing happened nowhere else? Party animosity and party outrage, not in New England, but elsewhere, denounced President Washington, not only as a Federalist, but as a Tory, a British agent, a man who in his high office sanctioned corruption. But does the honorable member suppose, if I had a tender here who should put such an effusion of wickedness and folly into my hand, that I would stand up and read it against the South? Parties ran into great heats again in 1799 and 1800. What was said, sir, or rather what was not said, in those years, against John Adams, one of the committee that drafted the Declaration of Independence, and its admitted ablest defender on the floor of Congress? If the gentleman wishes to increase his stores of party abuse and frothy violence, if he has a determined proclivity to such pursuits, there are treasures of that sort south of the Potomac, much to his taste, yet untouched. I shall not touch them. * * *

DANIEL WEBSTER.

Mr. President, in carrying his warfare, such as it is, into New England, the honorable gentleman all along professes to be acting on the defensive. He chooses to consider me as having assailed South Carolina, and insists that he comes forth only as her champion, and in her defense. Sir, I do not admit that I made any attack whatever on South Carolina. Nothing like it. The honorable member, in his first speech, expressed opinions, in regard to revenue and some other topics, which I heard with both pain and surprise. I told the gentleman I was aware that such sentiments were entertained *out* of the Government, but had not expected to find them advanced in it; that I knew there were persons in the South who speak of our Union with indifference or doubt, taking pains to magnify its evils, and to say nothing of its benefits; that the honorable member himself, I was sure, could never be one of these; and I regretted the expression of such opinions as he had avowed, because I thought their obvious tendency was to encourage feelings of disrespect to the Union, and to impair its strength. This, sir, is the sum and substance of all I said on the subject. And this constitutes the attack which called on the chivalry of the gentleman, in his own opinion, to harry us with such a foray among the party pamphlets and party proceedings in Massachusetts! * * * I shall not acknowledge that the honorable member goes before me in regard for whatever of distinguished talent or distinguished character South Carolina has produced. I claim part of the honor, I partake in the pride of her great names. I claim them for my countrymen, one and all, the Laurenses, the Rutledges, the Pinckneys, the Sumpters, the Marions,— Americans all, whose fame is no more to be hemmed in by State lines than their talents and patriotism were capable of being circumscribed within the same narrow limits. In their day and generation they served and honored the country and the whole country; and their renown is of the treasures of the whole country. Him whose honored name the gentleman himself bears — does he esteem me less capable of gratitude for his patriotism, or sympathy for his sufferings, than if his eyes had first opened upon the light of Massachusetts, instead of South Carolina? Sir, does he suppose it in his power to exhibit a Carolina name so bright as to produce envy in my bosom? No, sir; increased gratification and delight, rather. I thank God that, if I am gifted with little of the spirit which is able to raise mortals to the skies, I have yet none, as I trust, of that other spirit which would drag angels down. When I shall be found, sir, in my place here in the Senate, or elsewhere, to sneer at public merit, because it happens to spring up beyond the little limits of my own State or neighborhood; when I refuse, for any such cause, or for any cause, the homage due to American talent, to elevated patriotism, to sincere devotion to liberty and the country; or, if I see an uncommon endowment of Heaven, if I see

extraordinary capacity and virtue, in any son of the South; and if, moved by local prejudices or gangrened by State jealousy, I get up here to abate the tithe of a hair from his just character and just fame, may my tongue cleave to the roof of my mouth!

Sir, let me recur to pleasing recollections; let me indulge in refreshing remembrances of the past; let me remind you that, in early times, no States cherished greater harmony, both of principle and feeling, than Massachusetts and South Carolina. Would to God that harmony might again return! Shoulder to shoulder they went through the Revolution, hand in hand they stood round the administration of Washington, and felt his own great arm lean on them for support. Unkind feeling, if it exist, alienation, and distrust, are the growth, unnatural to such soils, of false principles since sown. They are weeds, the seeds of which that same great arm never scattered.

Mr. President, I shall enter upon no encomium of Massachusetts; she needs none. There she is. Behold her, and judge for yourselves. There is her history; the world knows it by heart. The past, at least, is secure. There is Boston, and Concord, and Lexington, and Bunker Hill; and there they will remain forever. The bones of her sons, falling in the great struggle for Independence, now lie mingled with the soil of every State from New England to Georgia, and there they will lie forever. And, sir, where American Liberty raised its first voice, and where its youth was nurtured and sustained, there it still lives, in the strength of its manhood, and full of its original spirit. If discord and disunion shall wound it, if party strife and blind ambition shall hawk and tear it, if folly and madness, if uneasiness under salutary and necessary restraint shall succeed in separating it from that Union, by which alone its existence is made sure, it will stand, in the end, by the side of that cradle in which its infancy was rocked; it will stretch forth its arm with whatever of vigor it may still retain, over the friends who gather round it; and it will fall at last, if fall it must, amidst the profoundest monuments of its own glory, and on the very spot of its origin.

There yet remains to be performed, Mr. President, by far the most grave and important duty which I feel to be devolved upon me by this occasion. It is to state, and to defend, what I conceive to be the true principles of the Constitution under which we are here assembled. * * *

I understand the honorable gentleman from South Carolina to maintain that it is a right of the State Legislatures to interfere whenever, in their judgment, this Government transcends its constitutional limits, and to arrest the operation of its laws.

I understand him to maintain this right, as a right existing *under* the Constitution, not as a right to overthrow it on the ground of extreme necessity, such as would justify violent revolution.

I understand him to maintain an authority on the part of the States, thus to interfere, for the purpose of correcting the exercise of power by the General Government, of checking it and of compelling it to conform to their opinion of the extent of its powers.

I understand him to maintain, that the ultimate power of judging of the constitutional extent of its own authority is not lodged exclusively in the General Government, or any branch of it; but that, on the contrary, the States may lawfully decide for themselves, and each State for itself, whether, in a given case, the act of the General Government transcends its power.

I understand him to insist, that, if the exigencies of the case, in the opinion of any State Government, require it, such State Government may, by its own sovereign authority, annul an act of the General Government which it deems plainly and palpably unconstitutional.

This is the sum of what I understand from him to be the South Carolina doctrine, and the doctrine which he maintains. * * * (Interruption by Mr. Hayne.)

This leads us to inquire into the origin of this Government and the source of its power. Whose agent is it? Is it the creature of the State Legislatures, or the creature of the people? If the Government of the United States be the agent of the State Governments, then they may control it, provided they can agree in the manner of controlling it; if it be the agent of the people, then the people alone can control it, restrain it, modify, or reform it. It is observable enough, that the doctrine for which the honorable gentleman contends leads him to the necessity of maintaining, not only that this General Government is the creature of the States, but that it is the creature of each of the States, severally, so that each may assert the power for itself of determining whether it acts within the limits of its authority. It is the servant of four-and-twenty masters, of different wills and different purposes, and yet bound to obey all. This absurdity (for it seems no less) arises from a misconception as to the origin of this Government and its true character. It is, sir, the people's Constitution, the people's Government, made for the people, made by the people, and answerable to the people. The people of the United States have declared that this Constitution shall be supreme law. We must either admit the proposition, or deny their authority. The States are, unquestionably, sovereign, so far as their sovereignty is not affected by this supreme law. But the State Legislatures, as political bodies, however sovereign, are yet not sovereign over the people. So

far as the people have given power to the General Government, so far the grant is unquestionably good, and the Government holds of the people, and not of the State Governments. We are all agents of the same supreme power, the people. The General Government and the State Governments derive their authority from the same source. Neither can, in relation to the other, be called primary, though one is definite and restricted, and the other general and residuary. The National Government possesses those powers which it can be shown the people have conferred on it, and no more. All the rest belongs to the State Governments, or to the people themselves. So far as the people have restrained State sovereignty by the expression of their will, in the Constitution of the United States, so far, it must be admitted, State sovereignty is effectually controlled. I do not contend that it is, or ought to be, controlled farther. The sentiment to which I have referred propounds that State sovereignty is only to be controlled by its own "feeling of justice"—that is to say, it is not to be controlled at all, for one who is to follow his own feelings is under no legal control. Now, however men may think this ought to be, the fact is that the people of the United States have chosen to impose control on State sovereignties. There are those, doubtless, who wish they had been left without restraint; but the Constitution has ordered the matter differently. To make war, for instance, is an exercise of sovereignty; but the Constitution declares that no State shall make war. To coin money is another exercise of sovereign power; but no State is at liberty to coin money. Again, the Constitution says that no sovereign State shall be so sovereign as to make a treaty. These prohibitions, it must be confessed, are a control on the State sovereignty of South Carolina, as well as of the other States, which does not arise "from her own feelings of honorable justice." The opinion referred to, therefore, is in defiance of the plainest provisions of the Constitution.

There are other proceedings of public bodies which have already been alluded to, and to which I refer again, for the purpose of ascertaining more fully what is the length and breadth of that doctrine denominated the Carolina doctrine, which the honorable member has now stood up on this floor to maintain. In one of them I find it resolved, that "the tariff of 1828, and every other tariff designed to promote one branch of industry at the expense of others, is contrary to the meaning and intention of the Federal compact, and such a dangerous, palpable, and deliberate usurpation of power, by a determined majority, wielding the General Government beyond the limits of its delegated powers, as calls upon the States which compose the suffering minority, in their sovereign capacity, to exercise the powers which, as sovereigns, necessarily devolve upon them when their contract is violated." * * *

Sir, the human mind is so constituted, that the merits of both sides of a controversy appear very clear, and very palpable, to those who respectively espouse them; and both sides usually grow clearer as the controversy advances. South Carolina sees unconstitutionality in the tariff; she sees oppression there also, and she sees danger. Pennsylvania, with a vision not less sharp, looks at the same tariff, and sees no such thing in it; she sees it all constitutional, all useful, all safe. The faith of South Carolina is strengthened by opposition, and she now not only sees, but *resolves*, that the tariff is palpably unconstitutional, oppressive, and dangerous; but Pennsylvania, not to be behind her neighbors, and equally willing to strengthen her own faith by a confident asseveration *resolves*, also, and gives to every warm affirmative of South Carolina, a plain, downright, Pennsylvania negative. South Carolina, to show the strength and unity of her opinion, brings her assembly to a unanimity, within seven voices; Pennsylvania, not to be outdone in this respect any more than in others, reduces her dissentient fraction to a single vote. Now, sir, again, I ask the gentleman, What is to be done? Are these States both right? Is he bound to consider them both right? If not, which is in the wrong? or, rather, which has the best right to decide? And if he, and if I, are not to know what the Constitution means, and what it is, till those two States Legislatures, and the twenty-two others, shall agree in its construction, what have we sworn to, when we have sworn to maintain it? I was forcibly struck, sir, with one reflection, as the gentleman went on in his speech. He quoted Mr. Madison's resolutions, to prove that a State may interfere, in a case of deliberate, palpable, and dangerous exercise of a power not granted. The honorable member supposes the tariff law to be such an exercise of power; and that consequently a case has arisen in which the State may, if it see fit, interfere by its own law. Now it so happens, nevertheless, that Mr. Madison deems this same tariff law quite constitutional. Instead of a clear and palpable violation, it is, in his judgment, no violation at all. So that, while they use his authority in a hypothetical case, they reject it in the very case before them. All this, sir, shows the inherent futility, I had almost used a stronger word, of conceding this power of interference to the State, and then attempting to secure it from abuse by imposing qualifications of which the States themselves are to judge. One of two things is true; either the laws of the Union are beyond the discretion and beyond the control of the States; or else we have no Constitution of General Government, and are thrust back again to the days of the Confederation. * * *

I must now beg to ask, sir, whence is this supposed right of the States derived? Where do they find the power to interfere with the laws of the Union? Sir, the opinion which the honorable gentleman maintains is a notion founded

in a total misapprehension, in my judgment, of the origin of this Government, and of the foundation on which it stands. I hold it to be a popular government, erected by the people; those who administer it, responsible to the people; and itself capable of being amended and modified, just as the people may choose it should be. It is as popular, just as truly emanating from the people, as the State Governments. It is created for one purpose; the State Governments for another. It has its own powers; they have theirs. There is no more authority with them to arrest the operation of a law of Congress, than with Congress to arrest the operation of their laws. We are here to administer a Constitution emanating immediately from the people, and trusted by them to our administration. It is not the creature of the State Governments. * * *

This Government, sir, is the independent offspring of the popular will. It is not the creature of State Legislatures; nay, more, if the whole truth must be told, the people brought it into existence, established it, and have hitherto supported it, for the very purpose, amongst others, of imposing certain salutary restraints on State sovereignties. The States cannot now make war; they cannot contract alliances; they cannot make, each for itself, separate regulations of commerce; they cannot lay imposts; they cannot coin money. If this Constitution, sir, be the creature of State Legislatures, it must be admitted that it has obtained a strange control over the volitions of its creators.

The people, then, sir, erected this Government. They gave it a Constitution, and in that Constitution they have enumerated the powers which they bestow on it. They have made it a limited government. They have defined its authority. They have restrained it to the exercise of such powers as are granted; and all others, they declare, are reserved to the States, or the people. But, sir, they have not stopped here. If they had, they would have accomplished but half their work. No definition can be so clear as to avoid the possibility of doubt; no limitation so precise as to exclude all uncertainty. Who, then, shall construe this grant of the people? Who shall interpret their will, where it may be supposed they have left it doubtful? With whom do they repose this ultimate right of deciding on the powers of the Government? Sir, they have settled all this in the fullest manner. They have left it with the Government itself, in its appropriate branches. Sir, the very chief end, the main design, for which the whole Constitution was framed and adopted, was to establish a government that should not be obliged to act through State agency, or depend on State opinion or State discretion. The people had had quite enough of that kind of government under the Confederation. Under that system, the legal action, the application of law to individuals, belonged exclusively to the States. Congress could only recommend; their acts were not of binding force till the States had

adopted and sanctioned them. Are we in that condition still? Are we yet at the mercy of State discretion and State construction? Sir, if we are, then vain will be our attempt to maintain the Constitution under which we sit.

But, sir, the people have wisely provided, in the Constitution itself, a proper, suitable mode and tribunal for settling questions of constitutional law. There are in the Constitution grants of powers to Congress, and restrictions on these powers. There are also prohibitions on the States. Some authority must, therefore, necessarily exist, having the ultimate jurisdiction to fix and ascertain the interpretation of these grants, restrictions, and prohibitions. The Constitution has itself pointed out, ordained, and established that authority. How has it accomplished this great and essential end? By declaring, sir, that "the Constitution and the laws of the United States made in pursuance thereof, shall be the supreme law of the land, anything in the Constitution or laws of any State to the contrary notwithstanding."

This, sir, was the first great step. By this the supremacy of the Constitution and the laws of the United States is declared. The people so will it. No State law is to be valid which comes in conflict with the Constitution, or any law of the United States passed in pursuance of it. But who shall decide this question of interference? To whom lies the last appeal? This, sir, the Constitution itself decides, also, by declaring, "that the judicial power shall extend to all cases arising under the Constitution and laws of the United States." These two provisions cover the whole ground. They are, in truth, the keystone of the arch! With these it is a government, without them a confederation. In pursuance of these clear and express provisions, Congress established, at its very first session, in the judicial act, a mode for carrying them into full effect, and for bringing all questions of constitutional power to the final decision of the Supreme Court. It then, sir, became a government. It then had the means of self-protection; and but for this, it would, in all probability, have been now among things which are past. Having constituted the Government, and declared its powers, the people have further said, that, since somebody must decide on the extent of these powers, the Government shall itself decide; subject, always, like other popular governments, to its responsibility to the people. And now, sir, I repeat, how is it that a State Legislature acquires any power to interfere? Who or what gives them the right to say to the people: "We, who are your agents and servants for one purpose, will undertake to decide, that your other agents and servants, appointed by you for another purpose, have transcended the authority you gave them!" The reply would be, I think, not impertinent: "Who made you a judge over another's servants? To their own masters they stand or fall." * * *

For myself, sir, I do not admit the competency of South Carolina or any other State to prescribe my constitutional duty; or to settle, between me and the people, the validity of laws of Congress for which I have voted. I decline her umpirage. I have not sworn to support the Constitution according to her construction of the clauses. I have not stipulated by my oath of office or otherwise to come under any responsibility, except to the people, and those whom they have appointed to pass upon the question, whether laws, supported by my votes, conform to the Constitution of the country. And, sir, if we look to the general nature of the case, could anything have been more preposterous than to make a government for the whole Union, and yet leave its powers subject, not to one interpretation, but to thirteen or twenty-four interpretations? * * *

And now, Mr. President, let me run the honorable gentleman's doctrine a little into its practical application. Let us look at his probable *modus operandi*. If a thing can be done, an ingenious man can tell *how* it is to be done, and I wish to be informed *how* this State interference is to be put in practice, without violence, bloodshed, and rebellion. We will take the existing case of the tariff law. South Carolina is said to have made up her opinion upon it. If we do not repeal it (as we probably shall not), she will then apply to the case the remedy of her doctrine. She will, we must suppose, pass a law of her Legislature, declaring the several acts of Congress, usually called the tariff laws, null and void, so far as they respect South Carolina, or the citizens thereof. So far, all is a paper transaction, and easy enough. But the collector at Charleston is collecting the duties imposed by these tariff laws. He, therefore, must be stopped. The collector will seize the goods if the tariff duties are not paid. The State authorities will undertake their rescue, the marshal, with his posse, will come to the collector's aid, and here the contest begins. The militia of the State will be called out to sustain the Nullifying Act. They will march, sir, under a very gallant leader; for I believe the honorable member himself commands the militia of that part of the State. He will raise the NULLIFYING ACT on his standard, and spread it out as his banner! It will have a preamble, setting forth that the tariff laws are palpable, deliberate, and dangerous violations of the Constitution! He will proceed, with this banner flying, to the custom-house in Charleston,

"All the while,
Sonorous metal blowing martial sounds."

Arrived at the custom-house, he will tell the collector that he must collect no more duties under any of the tariff laws. This he will be somewhat

puzzled to say, by the way, with a grave countenance, considering what hand South Carolina herself had in that of 1816. But, sir, the collector would not, probably, desist at his bidding. He would show him the law of Congress, the treasury instruction, and his own oath of office. He would say, he should perform his duty, come what might.

Here would ensue a pause; for they say that a certain stillness precedes the tempest. The trumpeter would hold his breath awhile, and before all this military array should fall on the custom-house, collector, clerks, and all, it is very probable some of those composing it would request of the gallant commander-in-chief to be informed upon a little point of law; for they have, doubtless, a just respect for his opinions as a lawyer, as well as for his bravery as a soldier. They know he has read Blackstone and the Constitution, as well as Turenne and Vauban. They would ask him, therefore, somewhat concerning their rights in this matter. They would inquire whether it was not somewhat dangerous to resist a law of the United States. What would be the nature of their offense, they would wish to learn, if they, by military force and array, resisted the execution in Carolina of a law of the United States, and it should turn out, after all, that the law *was constitutional?* He would answer, of course, treason. No lawyer could give any other answer. John Fries, he would tell them, had learned that some years ago. How, then, they would ask, do you propose to defend us? We are not afraid of bullets, but treason has a way of taking people off that we do not much relish. How do you propose to defend us? "Look at my floating banner," he would reply; "see there the nullifying law."

Is it your opinion, gallant commander, they would then say, that, if we should be indicted for treason, that same floating banner of yours would make a good plea in bar? "South Carolina is a sovereign State," he would reply. That is true; but would the judge admit our plea? "These tariff laws," he would repeat, "are unconstitutional, palpably, deliberately, dangerously." That may all be so; but if the tribunal should not happen to be of that opinion, shall we swing for it? We are ready to die for our country, but it is rather an awkward business, this dying without touching the ground! After all, that is a sort of hemp tax worse than any part of the tariff.

Mr. President, the honorable gentleman would be in a dilemma, like that of another great general. He would have a knot before him which he could not untie. He must cut it with his sword. He must say to his followers, "Defend yourselves with your bayonets;" and this is war — civil war.

Direct collision, therefore, between force and force, is the unavoidable result of that remedy for the revision of unconstitutional laws which the gentleman

contends for. It must happen in the very first case to which it is applied. Is not this the plain result? To resist by force the execution of a law, generally, is treason. Can the courts of the United States take notice of the indulgence of a State to commit treason? The common saying, that a State cannot commit treason herself, is nothing to the purpose. Can she authorize others to do it? * * *

The people have preserved this, their own chosen Constitution, for forty years, and have seen their happiness, prosperity, and renown grow with its growth, and strengthen with its strength. They are now, generally, strongly attached to it. Overthrown by direct assault, it cannot be; evaded, undermined, nullified, it will not be, if we, and those who shall succeed us here, as agents and representatives of the people, shall conscientiously and vigilantly discharge the two great branches of our public trust, faithfully to preserve and wisely to administer it.

Mr. President, I have thus stated the reasons of my dissent to the doctrines which have been advanced and maintained. I am conscious of having detained you and the Senate much too long. I was drawn into the debate with no previous deliberation, such as is suited to the discussion of so grave and important a subject. But it is a subject of which my heart is full, and I have not been willing to suppress the utterance of its spontaneous sentiments. I cannot, even now, persuade myself to relinquish it, without expressing, once more, my deep conviction, that, since it respects nothing less than the union of the States, it is of most vital and essential importance to the public happiness. I profess, sir, in my career hitherto, to have kept steadily in view the prosperity and honor of the whole country, and the preservation of our Federal Union. It is to that Union we owe our safety at home, and our consideration and dignity abroad. It is to that Union that we are chiefly indebted for whatever makes us most proud of our country. That Union we reached only by the discipline of our virtues in the severe school of adversity. It had its origin in the necessities of disordered finance, prostrate commerce, and ruined credit. Under its benign influences, these great interests immediately awoke, as from the dead, and sprang forth with newness of life. Every year of its duration has teemed with fresh proofs of its utility and its blessings; and although our territory has stretched out wider and wider, and our population spread farther and farther, they have not outrun its protection or its benefits. It has been to us all a copious fountain of national, social, and personal happiness.

I have not allowed myself, sir, to look beyond the Union, to see what might lie hidden in the dark recess behind. I have not coolly weighed the chances of preserving liberty when the bonds that unite us together shall be

broken asunder. I have not accustomed myself to hang over the precipice of disunion, to see whether, with my short sight, I can fathom the depth of the abyss below; nor could I regard him as a safe counselor in the affairs of this Government, whose thoughts should be mainly bent on considering, not how the Union may be best preserved, but how tolerable might be the condition of the people when it should be broken up and destroyed. While the Union lasts we have high, exciting, gratifying prospects spread out before us, for us and our children. Beyond that I seek not to penetrate the veil. God grant that in my day at least that curtain may not rise! God grant that on my vision never may be opened what lies behind! When my eyes shall be turned to behold for the last time the sun in the heavens, may I not see him shining on the broken and dishonored fragments of a once glorious Union; on States dissevered, discordant, belligerent; on a land rent with civil feuds, or drenched, it may be, in fraternal blood! Let their last feeble and lingering glance rather behold the gorgeous ensign of the Republic, now known and honored throughout the earth, still full high advanced, its arms and trophies streaming in their original lustre, not a stripe erased or polluted, not a single star obscured, bearing for its motto, no such miserable interrogatory as "What is all this worth?" nor those other words of delusion and folly, "Liberty first and Union afterward;" but everywhere, spread all over in characters of living light, blazing on all its ample folds, as they float over the sea and over the land, and in every wind under the whole heavens, that other sentiment, dear to every true American heart,—Liberty *and* Union, now and forever, one and inseparable!"

(Delivered in the United States Senate, January 26, 1830.)

The Powers of War and Peace.

By JOHN QUINCY ADAMS, of Massachusetts.
(Born 1767, died 1848.)

THERE are, then, Mr. Chairman, in the authority of Congress and of the Executive, two classes of powers, altogether different in their nature, and often incompatible with each other — the war power and the peace power. The peace power is limited by regulations and restricted by provisions, prescribed within the Constitution itself. The war power is limited only by the laws and usages of nations. The power is tremendous; it is strictly constitutional, but it breaks down every barrier so anxiously erected for the protection of liberty, of property, and of life. This, sir, is the power which authorizes you to pass the resolution now before you, and, in my opinion, there is no other.

And this, sir, is the reason which I was not permitted to give this morning for voting with only eight associates against the first resolution reported by the committee on the abolition petitions; not one word of discussion had been permitted on either of those resolutions. When called to vote upon the first of them, I asked only five minutes of the time of the House to prove that it was utterly unfounded. It was not the pleasure of the House to grant me those five minutes. Sir, I must say that, in all the proceedings of the House upon that report, from the previous question, moved and inflexibly persisted in by a member of the committee itself which reported the resolutions (Mr. Owens, of Georgia), to the refusal of the Speaker, sustained by the majority of the House, to permit the other gentleman, from Georgia (Mr. Glascock) to record upon the journal his reasons for asking to be excused from voting on that same resolution, the freedom of debate has been stifled in this House to a degree far beyond anything that ever happened since the existence of the Constitution of the United States; nor is it a consolatory reflection to me how intensely we have been made to feel, in the process of that operation, that the Speaker of this House is a slaveholder. And, sir, as I was not then permitted to assign my reasons for voting against that resolution before I gave the vote, I rejoice that

the reason for which I shall vote for the resolution now before the committee is identically the same with that for which I voted against that.

(Mr. Adams at this, and at many other passages of this speech, was interrupted by calls to order. The chairman of the committee [Mr. A. H. Shepperd, of North Carolina], in every instance, decided that he was not out of order, but at this passage intimated that he was approaching very close upon its borders; upon which Mr. Adams said, "Then I am to understand, sir, that I am yet within the bounds of order, but that I may transcend them hereafter.")

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And now, sir, am I to be disconcerted and silenced, or admonished by the Chair that I am approaching to irrelevant matter, which may warrant him to arrest me in my argument, because I say that the reason for which I shall vote for the resolution now before the committee, levying a heavy contribution upon the property of my constituents, is identically the same with the reason for which I voted against the resolution reported by the slavery committee, that Congress have no authority to interfere, in any way, with slavery in any of the States of this Union. Sir, I was not allowed to give my reasons for that vote, and a majority of my constituents, perhaps proportionately as large as that of this House in favor of that resolution, may and probably will disapprove my vote against, unless my reasons for so voting should be explained to them. I asked but five minutes of the House to give those reasons, and was refused. I shall, therefore, take the liberty to give them now, as they are strictly applicable to the measure now before the committee, and are my only justification for voting in favor of this resolution.

I return, then, to my first position, that there are two classes of powers vested by the Constitution of the United States in their Congress and Executive Government: the powers to be exercised in the time of peace, and the powers incidental to war. That the powers of peace are limited by provisions within the body of the Constitution itself, but that the powers of war are limited and regulated only by the laws and usages of nations. There are, indeed, powers of peace conferred upon Congress, which also come within the scope and jurisdiction of the laws of nations, such as the negotiation of treaties of amity and commerce, the interchange of public ministers and consuls, and all the personal and social intercourse between the individual inhabitants of the United States and foreign nations, and the Indian tribes, which require the interposition of any law. But the powers of war are all regulated by the laws of nations, and are subject to no other limitation. It is by this power that I am justified in voting the money of my constituents for the immediate relief of their fellow

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citizens suffering with extreme necessity even for subsistence, by the direct consequence of an Indian war. Upon the same principle, your consuls in foreign ports are authorized to provide for the subsistence of seamen in distress, and even for their passage to their own country.

And it was upon that same principle that I voted against the resolution reported by the slavery committee, "That Congress possess no constitutional authority to interfere, in any way, with the institution of slavery in any of the States of this confederacy," to which resolution most of those with whom I usually concur, and even my own colleagues in this House, gave their assent. I do not admit that there is even among the peace powers of Congress no such authority; but in war there are many ways by which Congress not only have the authority, but are bound to interfere with the institution of slavery in the States. The existing law prohibiting the importation of slaves into the United States from foreign countries, is itself an interference with the institution of slavery in the States. It was so considered by the founders of the Constitution of the United States, in which it was stipulated that Congress should not interfere, in that way, with the institution, prior to the year 1808.

During the late war with Great Britain the military and naval commanders of that nation issued proclamations inviting the slaves to repair to their standards, with promises of freedom and of settlement in some of the British colonial establishments. This, surely, was an interference with the institution of slavery in the States. By the treaty of peace, Great Britain stipulated to evacuate all the forts and places in the United States, without carrying away any slaves. If the Government of the United States had no authority to interfere, in any way, with the institution of slavery in the States, they would not have had the authority to require this stipulation. It is well known that this engagement was not fulfilled by the British naval and military commanders; that, on the contrary, they did carry away all the slaves whom they had induced to join them, and that the British Government inflexibly refused to restore any of them to their masters: that a claim of indemnity was consequently instituted in behalf of the owners of the slaves, and was successfully maintained. All that series of transactions was an interference by Congress with the institution of slavery in the States in one way — in the way of protection and support. It was by the institution of slavery alone that the restitution of slaves enticed by proclamations into the British service could be claimed as property. But for the institution of slavery, the British commanders could neither have allured them to their standard, nor restored them otherwise than as liberated prisoners of war. But for the institution of slavery, there could have been no stipulation that they should not be carried

away as property, nor any claim of indemnity for the violation of that engagement.

But the war power of Congress over the institution of slavery in the States is yet far more extensive. Suppose the case of a servile war, complicated, as to some extent it is even now, with an Indian war; suppose Congress were called to raise armies, to supply money from the whole Union, to suppress a servile insurrection: would they have no authority to interfere with the institution of slavery? The issue of a servile war may be disastrous. By war the slave may emancipate himself; it may become necessary for the master to recognize his emancipation by a treaty of peace; can it for an instant be pretended that Congress, in such a contingency, would have no authority to interfere with the institution of slavery, in any way, in the States? Why, it would be equivalent to saying that Congress have no constitutional authority to make peace.

(Delvered in the House of Representatives May 25, 1836.)

Nullification and the Force Bill.

By JOHN C. CALHOUN, of South Carolina.

(Born 1782, died 1850.)

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THE people of Carolina believe that the Union is a union of States, and not of individuals; that it was formed by the States, and that the citizens of the several States were bound to it through the acts of their several States; that each State ratified the Constitution for itself, and that it was only by such ratification of a State that any obligation was imposed upon its citizens. Thus believing, it is the opinion of the people of Carolina that it belongs to the State which has imposed the obligation to declare, in the last resort, the extent of this obligation, as far as her citizens are concerned; and this upon the plain principles which exist in all analogous cases of compact between sovereign bodies. On this principle the people of the State, acting in their sovereign capacity in convention — precisely as they did in the adoption of their own and the Federal Constitutions — have declared, by the ordinance, that the acts of Congress which imposed duties under the authority to lay imposts, were acts not for revenue, as intended by the Constitution, but for protection, and, therefore, null and void. The ordinance thus enacted by the people of the State themselves, acting as a sovereign community, is as obligatory on the citizens of the State as any portion of the Constitution. In prescribing, then, the oath to obey the ordinance, no more was done than to prescribe an oath to obey the Constitution. It is, in fact, but a particular oath of allegiance, and in every respect similar to that which is prescribed, under the Constitution of the United States, to be administered to all the officers of the State and Federal Governments; and is no more deserving the harsh and bitter epithets which have been heaped upon it than that or any similar oath. It ought to be borne in mind that, according to the opinion which prevails in Carolina, the right of resistance to the unconstitutional acts of Congress belongs to the State, and not to her individual citizens; and that, though the latter may, in a mere question of *meum* and *tuum*, resist through the courts an unconstitutional en-

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croachment upon their rights, yet the final stand against usurpation rests not with them, but with the State of which they are members; and such act of resistance by a State binds the conscience and allegiance of the citizen. But there appears to be a general misapprehension as to the extent to which the State has acted under this part of the ordinance. Instead of sweeping every officer by a general proscription of the minority, as has been represented in debate, as far as my knowledge extends, not a single individual has been removed. The State has, in fact, acted with the greatest tenderness, all circumstances considered, toward citizens who differed from the majority; and, in that spirit, has directed the oath to be administered only in the case of some official act directed to be performed in which obedience to the ordinance is involved. * * *

It is next objected that the enforcing acts have legislated the United States out of South Carolina. I have already replied to this objection on another occasion, and will now but repeat what I then said: that they have been legislated out only to the extent that they had no right to enter. The Constitution has admitted the jurisdiction of the United States within the limits of the several States only so far as the delegated powers authorize; beyond that they are intruders, and may rightfully be expelled; and that they have been efficiently expelled by the legislation of the State through her civil process, as has been acknowledged on all sides in the debate, is only a confirmation of the truth of the doctrine for which the majority in Carolina have contended.

The very point at issue between the two parties there is, whether nullification is a peaceful and an efficient remedy against an unconstitutional act of the General Government, and may be asserted, as such, through the State tribunals. Both parties agree that the acts against which it is directed are unconstitutional and oppressive. The controversy is only as to the means by which our citizens may be protected against the acknowledged encroachments on their rights. This being the point at issue between the parties, and the very object of the majority being an efficient protection of the citizens through the State tribunals, the measures adopted to enforce the ordinance, of course received the most decisive character. We were not children, to act by halves. Yet for acting thus efficiently the State is denounced, and this bill reported, to overrule, by military force, the civil tribunal and civil process of the State! Sir, I consider this bill, and the arguments which have been urged on this floor in its support, as the most triumphant acknowledgment that nullification is peaceful and efficient, and so deeply intrenched in the principles of our system, that it cannot be assailed but by prostrating the Constitution, and substituting the supremacy of military force in lieu of the supremacy of the laws. In fact, the advocates of this bill refute their own argument. They tell us that the ordinance is unconstitu-

tional, that it infracts the Constitution of South Carolina; although, to me, the objection appears absurd, as it was adopted by the very authority which adopted the Constitution itself. They also tell us that the Supreme Court is the appointed arbiter of all controversies between a State and the General Government. Why, then, do they not leave this controversy to that tribunal? Why do they not confide to them the abrogation of the ordinance, and the laws made in pursuance of it, and the assertion of that supremacy which they claim for the laws of Congress? The State stands pledged to resist no process of the court. Why, then, confer on the President the extensive and unlimited powers provided in this bill? Why authorize him to use military force to arrest the civil process of the State? But one answer can be given: that, in a contest between the State and the General Government, if the resistance be limited on both sides to the civil process, the State, by its inherent sovereignty, standing upon its reserved powers, will prove too powerful in such a controversy, and must triumph over the Federal Government, sustained by its delegated and limited authority; and in this answer we have an acknowledgment of the truth of those great principles for which the State has so firmly and nobly contended. * * *

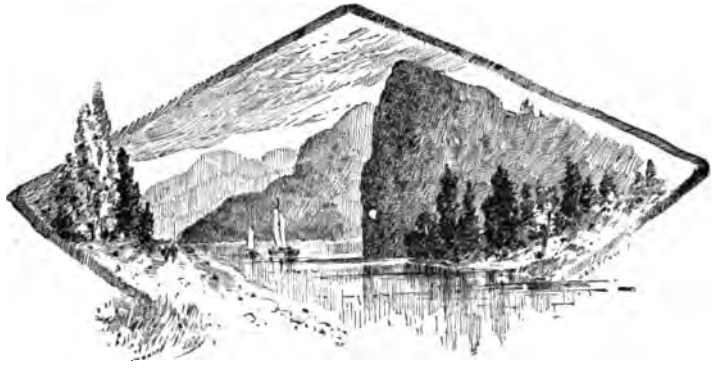
Notwithstanding all that has been said, I may say that neither the Senator from Delaware (Mr. Clayton), nor any other who has spoken on the same side, has directly and fairly met the great question at issue: is this a Federal Union? a union of States, as distinct from that of individuals? is the sovereignty in the several States, or in the American people in the aggregate? The very language which we are compelled to use when speaking of our political institutions, affords proof conclusive as to its real character. The terms union, federal, united, all imply a combination of sovereignties, a confederation of States. They never apply to an association of individuals. Who ever heard of the United State of New York, of Massachusetts, or of Virginia? Who ever heard the term federal or union applied to the aggregation of individuals into one community? Nor is the other point less clear — that the sovereignty is in the several States, and that our system is a union of twenty-four sovereign powers, under a constitutional compact, and not of a divided sovereignty between the States severally and the United States? In spite of all that has been said, I maintain that sovereignty is in its nature indivisible. It is the supreme power in a State, and we might just as well speak of half a square, or half of a triangle, as of half a sovereignty. It is a gross error to confound the *exercise* of sovereign powers with *sovereignty* itself, or the *delegation* of such powers with the *surrender* of them. A sovereign may delegate his powers to be exercised by as many agents as he may think proper, under such conditions and with such limitations as he may impose; but to surrender any portion of his sovereignty to another is to anni-

hilate the whole. The Senator from Delaware (Mr. Clayton) calls this metaphysical reasoning, which he says he cannot comprehend. If by metaphysics he means that scholastic refinement which makes distinctions without difference, no one can hold it in more utter contempt than I do; but if, on the contrary, he means the power of analysis and combination — that power which reduces the most complex idea into its elements, which traces causes to their first principle, and, by the power of generalization and combination, unites the whole in one harmonious system — then, so far from deserving contempt, it is the highest attribute of the human mind. It is the power which raises man above the brute; which distinguishes his faculties from mere sagacity, which he holds in common with inferior animals. It is this power which has raised the astronomer from being a mere gazer at the stars to the high, intellectual eminence of a Newton or a Laplace, and astronomy itself from a mere observation of insulated facts into that noble science which displays to our admiration the system of the universe. And shall this high power of the mind, which has effected such wonders when directed to the laws which control the material world, be forever prohibited, under a senseless cry of metaphysics, from being applied to the high purposes of political science and legislation? I hold them to be subject to laws as fixed as matter itself, and to be as fit a subject for the application of the highest intellectual power. Denunciation may, indeed, fall upon the philosophical inquirer into these first principles, as it did upon Galileo and Bacon, when they first unfolded the great discoveries which have immortalized their names; but the time will come when truth will prevail in spite of prejudice and denunciation, and when politics and legislation will be considered as much a science as astronomy and chemistry. * * *

Disguise it as you may, the controversy is one between power and liberty; and I tell the gentlemen who are opposed to me, that, as strong as may be the love of power on their side, the love of liberty is still stronger on ours. History furnishes many instances of similar struggles, where the love of liberty has prevailed against power under every disadvantage, and among them few more striking than that of our own Revolution; where, as strong as was the parent country, and feeble as were the Colonies, yet, under the impulse of liberty, and the blessing of God, they gloriously triumphed in the contest. There are, indeed, many striking analogies between that and the present controversy. They both originated substantially in the same cause — with this difference: in the present case, the power of taxation is converted into that of regulating industry; in the other, the power of regulating industry, by the regulation of commerce, was attempted to be converted into the power of taxation. Were I to trace the analogy further, we should find that the perversion of the taxing power, in the

one case, has given precisely the same control to the Northern section over the industry of the Southern section of the Union, which the power to regulate commerce gave to Great Britain over the industry of the Colonies in the other; and that the very articles in which the Colonies were permitted to have a free trade, and those in which the mother-country had a monopoly, are almost identically the same as those in which the Southern States are permitted to have a free trade by the act of 1832, and in which the Northern States have, by the same act, secured a monopoly. The only difference is in the means. In the former, the Colonies were permitted to have a free trade with all countries south of Cape Finisterre, a cape in the northern part of Spain; while north of that, the trade of the Colonies was prohibited, except through the mother-country, by means of her commercial regulations. If we compare the products of the country north and south of Cape Finisterre, we shall find them almost identical with the list of the protected and unprotected articles contained in the list of last year. Nor does the analogy terminate here. The very arguments resorted to at the commencement of the American Revolution, and the measures adopted, and the motives assigned to bring on that contest (to enforce the law), are almost identically the same. * * *

(Delivered in the United States Senate, February 15, 1833.)



The Murder of Lovejoy and the Freedom of the Press.

By WENDELL PHILLIPS, of Massachusetts.

(Born 1811, died 1884.)

MR. CHAIRMAN: We have met for the freest discussion of these resolutions, and the events which gave rise to them. (Cries of "Question," "Hear him," "Go on," "No gagging," etc.) I hope I shall be permitted to express my surprise at the sentiments of the last speaker, surprise not only at such sentiments from such a man, but at the applause they have received within these walls. A comparison has been drawn between the events of the Revolution and the tragedy at Alton. We have heard it asserted here, in Faneuil Hall, that Great Britain had a right to tax the colonies, and we have heard the mob at Alton, the drunken murderers of Lovejoy, compared to those patriot fathers who threw the tea overboard! Fellow citizens, is this Faneuil Hall doctrine? ("No, no.") The mob at Alton were met to wrest from a citizen his just rights — met to resist the laws. We have been told that our fathers did the same; and the glorious mantle of Revolutionary precedent has been thrown over the mobs of our day. To make out their title to such defense, the gentleman says that the British Parliament had a *right* to tax these colonies. It is manifest that, without this, his parallel falls to the ground, for Lovejoy had stationed himself within constitutional bulwarks. He was not only defending the freedom of the press, but he was under his own roof, in arms with the sanction of the civil authority. The men who assailed him went against and over the laws. The *mob*, as the gentleman terms it — mob, forsooth! certainly we sons of the tea-spillers are a marvelously patient generation! — the "orderly mob" which assembled in the Old South to destroy the tea, were met to resist, not the laws, but illegal enactions. Shame on the American who calls the tea tax and stamp act *laws!* Our fathers resisted, not the King's prerogative, but the King's usurpation. To find any other account, you must read our Revolutionary history upside down. Our State archives are loaded with arguments of John Adams to prove the taxes laid by the British Parliament unconstitutional — beyond its power. It

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was not until this was made out that the men of New England rushed to arms. The arguments of the Council Chamber and the House of Representatives preceded and sanctioned the contest. To draw the conduct of our ancestors into a precedent for mobs, for a right to resist laws we ourselves have enacted, is an insult to their memory. The difference between the excitements of those days and our own, which the gentleman in kindness to the latter has overlooked, is simply this: the men of that day went for the right, as secured by the laws. They were the people rising to sustain the laws and Constitution of the province. The rioters of our days go for their own wills, right or wrong. Sir, when I heard the gentleman lay down principles which place the murderers of Alton side by side with Otis and Hancock, with Quincy and Adams, I thought those pictured lips (pointing to the portraits in the hall) would have broken into voice to rebuke the recreant American — the slanderer of the dead. The gentleman said that he should sink into insignificance if he dared to gainsay the principles of these resolutions. Sir, for the sentiments he has uttered, on soil consecrated by the prayers of Puritans and the blood of patriots, the earth should have yawned and swallowed him up.

(By this time, the uproar in the Hall had risen so high that the speech was suspended for a short time. Applause and counter applause, cries of "Take that back," "Make him take back recreant," "He sha'n't go on till he takes it back," and counter cries of "Phillips or nobody," continued until the pleadings of well-known citizens had somewhat restored order, when Mr. Phillips resumed.)

Fellow citizens, I cannot take back my words. Surely the Attorney-General, so long and so well known here, needs not the aid of your hisses against one so young as I am — my voice never before heard within these walls! * * *

Men are continually asking each other, Had Lovejoy a right to resist? Sir, I protest against the question instead of answering it. Lovejoy did not resist, in the sense they mean. He did not throw himself back on the natural right of self-defense. He did not cry anarchy, and let slip the dogs of civil war, careless of the horrors which would follow. Sir, as I understand this affair, it was not an individual protecting his property; it was not one body of armed men resisting another, and making the streets of a peaceful city run blood with their contentions. It did not bring back the scenes in some old Italian cities, where family met family, and faction met faction, and mutually trampled the laws under foot. No! the men in that house were regularly enrolled, under the sanction of the mayor. There being no militia in Alton, about seventy men were enrolled with the approbation of the mayor. These relieved each other every other night. About thirty men were in arms on the night of the sixth, when

the press was landed. The next evening, it was not thought necessary to summon more than half that number; among these was Lovejoy. It was, therefore, you perceive, sir, the police of the city resisting rioters — civil government breasting itself to the shock of lawless men.

Here is no question about the right of self-defense. It is, in fact, simply this: Has the civil magistrate a right to put down a riot?

Some persons seem to imagine that anarchy existed at Alton from the commencement of these disputes. Not at all. "No one of us," says an eye-witness and a comrade of Lovejoy, "has taken up arms during these disturbances but at the command of the mayor." Anarchy did not settle down on that devoted city till Lovejoy breathed his last. Till then the law, represented in his person, sustained itself against its foes. When he fell, civil authority was trampled under foot. He had "planted himself on his constitutional rights,— appealed to the laws,— claimed the protection of the civil authority,— taken refuge under the broad shield of the Constitution. When through that he was pierced and fell, he fell but one sufferer in a common catastrophe." He took refuge under the banner of liberty — amid its folds; and when he fell, its glorious stars and stripes, the emblem of free institutions, around which cluster so many heart-stirring memories, were blotted out in the martyr's blood.

It has been stated, perhaps inadvertently, that Lovejoy or his comrades fired first. This is denied by those who have the best means of knowing. Guns were first fired by the mob. After being twice fired on, those within the building consulted together and deliberately returned the fire. But suppose they did fire first. They had a right so to do; not only the right which every citizen has to defend himself, but the further right which every civil officer has to resist violence. Even if Lovejoy fired the first gun, it would not lessen his claim to our sympathy, or destroy his title to be considered a martyr in defense of a free press. The question now is, Did he act within the Constitution and the laws? The men who fell in State street, on the 5th of March, 1770, did more than Lovejoy is charged with. They were the *first* assailants upon some slight quarrel, they pelted the troops with every missile within reach. Did this bate one jot of the eulogy with which Hancock and Warren hallowed their memory, hailing them as the first martyrs in the cause of American liberty? If, sir, I had adopted what are called peace principles, I might lament the circumstances of this case. But all you who believe as I do, in the right and duty of magistrates to execute the laws, join with me and brand as base hypocrisy the conduct of those who assemble year after year on the 4th of July to fight over the battles of the Revolution, and yet "damn with

faint praise" or load with obloquy, the memory of this man who shed his blood in defense of life, liberty, property, and the freedom of the press!

Throughout that terrible night I find nothing to regret but this, that, within the limits of our country, civil authority should have been so prostrated as to oblige a citizen to arm in his own defense, and to arm in vain. The gentleman says Lovejoy was presumptuous and imprudent — he "died as the fool dieth." And a reverend clergyman of the city tells us that no citizen has a right to publish opinions disagreeable to the community! If any mob follows such publication, on *him* rests its guilt. He must wait, forsooth, till the people come up to it and agree with him! This libel on liberty goes on to say that the want of right to speak as we think is an evil inseparable from republican institutions! If this be so, what are they worth? Welcome the despotism of the Sultan, where one knows what he may publish and what he may not, rather than the tyranny of this many-headed monster, the mob, where we know not what we may do or say, till some fellow citizen has tried it, and paid for the lesson with his life. This clerical absurdity chooses as a check for the abuses of the press, not the *law*, but the dread of a mob. By so doing, it deprives not only the individual and the minority of their rights, but the majority also, since the expression of *their* opinion may sometime provoke disturbances from the minority. A few men may make a mob as well as many. The majority, then, have no right, as Christian men, to utter their sentiments, if by any possibility it may lead to a mob! Shades of Hugh Peters and John Cotton, save us from such pulpits! * * *

Imagine yourself present when the first news of Bunker Hill battle reached a New England town. The tale would have run thus: "The patriots are routed, — the redcoats victorious,— Warren lies dead upon the field." With what scorn would that *Tory* have been received, who should have charged Warren with *imprudence!* who should have said that, bred a physician, he was "out of place" in that battle, and "died as the *fool dieth.*" How would the intimation have been received, that Warren and his associates should have merited a better time? But if success be, indeed, the only criterion of prudence, *Respice finem*,— wait till the end!

Presumptuous to assert the freedom of the press on American ground! Is the assertion of such freedom before the age? So much before the age as to leave one no right to make it because it displeases the community? Who invents this libel on his country? It is this very thing which entitles Lovejoy to greater praise. The disputed right which provoked the Revolution — taxation without representation — is far beneath that for which he died. (Here there was a general expression of strong disapprobation.) One word, gentlemen.

As much as *thought* is better than money, so much is the cause in which Lovejoy died nobler than a mere question of taxes. James Otis thundered in this hall when the King did but touch his *pocket*. Imagine, if you can, his indignant eloquence had England offered to put a gag upon his *lips*. The question that stirred the Revolution touched our civil interests. This concerns us not only as citizens, but as immortal beings. Wrapped up in its fate, saved or lost with it, are not only the voice of the statesman, but the instructions of the pulpit and the progress of our faith. * * *

Mr. Chairman, from the bottom of my heart I thank that brave little band at Alton for resisting. We must remember that Lovejoy had fled from city to city,— suffered the destruction of three presses patiently. At length he took counsel with friends, men of character, of tried integrity, of wide views, of Christian principle. They thought the crisis had come; it was full time to assert the laws. They saw around them, not a community like our own, of fixed habits, of character moulded and settled, but one "in the gristle, not yet hardened into the bone of manhood." The people there, children of our older States, seem to have forgotten the blood-tried principles of their fathers the moment they lost sight of our New England hills. Something was to be done to show them the priceless value of the freedom of the press, to bring back and set right their wandering and confused ideas. He and his advisers looked out on a community, staggering like a drunken man, indifferent to their rights and confused in their feelings. Deaf to argument, haply they might be stunned into sobriety. They saw that of which we cannot judge, the *necessity* of resistance. Insulted law called for it. Public opinion, fast hastening on the downward course, must be arrested.

Does not the event show they judged rightly? Absorbed in a thousand trifles, how has the nation all at once come to a stand? Men begin, as in 1776 and 1640, to discuss principles, to weigh characters, to find out where they are. Haply, we may awake before we are borne over the precipice.

(Delivered at Faneuil Hall, Boston, December 8, 1837.)

The American System.

By HENRY CLAY, of Kentucky.
(Born 1777, died 1852.)

THE question which we are now called upon to determine, is not, whether we shall establish a new and doubtful system of policy, just proposed, and for the first time presented to our consideration, but whether we shall break down and destroy a long-established system, carefully and patiently built up and sanctioned, during a series of years, again and again, by the nation and its highest and most revered authorities. And are we not bound deliberately to consider whether we can proceed to this work of destruction without a violation of the public faith? The people of the United States have justly supposed that the policy of protecting their industry against foreign legislation and foreign industry was fully settled, not by a single act, but by repeated and deliberate acts of Government, performed at distant and frequent intervals. In full confidence that the policy was firmly and unchangeably fixed, thousands upon thousands have invested their capital, purchased a vast amount of real and other estate, made permanent establishments, and accommodated their industry. Can we expose to utter and irretrievable ruin this countless multitude, without justly incurring the reproach of violating the national faith? * * *

When gentlemen have succeeded in their design of an immediate or gradual destruction of the American system, what is their substitute? Free trade! The call for free trade is as unavailing as the cry of a spoiled child in its nurse's arms, for the moon, or the stars that glitter in the firmament of heaven. It never has existed, it never will exist. Trade implies at least two parties. To be free, it should be fair, equal, and reciprocal. But if we throw our ports wide open to the admission of foreign productions, free of all duty, what ports of any other foreign nation shall we find open to the free admission of our surplus produce? We may break down all barriers to free trade on our part, but the work will not be complete until foreign powers shall have removed theirs. There would be freedom on one side, and restrictions, prohibitions, and exclusions on the other. The bolts and the bars and the chains of all other nations

will remain undisturbed. It is, indeed, possible, that our industry and commerce would accommodate themselves to this unequal and unjust state of things; for, such is the flexibility of our nature, that it bends itself to all circumstances. The wretched prisoner incarcerated in a jail, after a long time, becomes reconciled to his solitude, and regularly notches down the passing days of his confinement.

Gentlemen deceive themselves. It is not free trade that they are recommending to our acceptance. It is, in effect, the British colonial system that we are invited to adopt; and, if their policy prevails, it will lead substantially to the recolonization of these States, under the commercial dominion of Great Britain. * * *

I regret, Mr. President, that one topic has, I think, unnecessarily been introduced into this debate. I allude to the charge brought against the manufacturing system, as favoring the growth of aristocracy. If it were true, would gentlemen prefer supporting foreign accumulations of wealth by that description of industry, rather than in their own country? But is it correct? The joint-stock companies of the North, as I understand them, are nothing more than associations, sometimes of hundreds, by means of which the small earnings of many are brought into a common stock, and the associates, obtaining corporate privileges, are enabled to prosecute, under one superintending head, their business to better advantage. Nothing can be more essentially democratic or better devised to counterpoise the influence of individual wealth. In Kentucky, almost every manufactory known to me is in the hands of enterprising and self-made men, who have acquired whatever wealth they possess by patient and diligent labor. Comparisons are odious, and but in defense would not be made by me. But is there more tendency to aristocracy in a manufactory, supporting hundreds of freemen, or in a cotton plantation, with its not less numerous slaves, sustaining perhaps only two white families — that of the master and the overseer?

I pass, with pleasure, from this disagreeable topic, to two general propositions which cover the entire ground of debate. The first is, that, under the operation of the American system, the objects which it protects and fosters are brought to the consumer at cheaper prices than they commanded prior to its introduction, or, than they would command if it did not exist. If that be true, ought not the country to be contented and satisfied with the system, unless the second proposition, which I mean presently also to consider, is unfounded? And that is, that the tendency of the system is to sustain, and that it has upheld, the prices of all our agricultural and other produce, including cotton.

And is the fact not indisputable that all essential objects of consumption affected by the tariff are cheaper and better since the act of 1824 than they were for several years prior to that law? I appeal for its truth to common observation, and to all practical men. I appeal to the farmer of the country whether he does not purchase on better terms his iron, salt, brown sugar, cotton goods, and woollens, for his laboring people? And I ask the cotton-planter if he has not been better and more cheaply supplied with his cotton-bagging? In regard to this latter article, the gentleman from South Carolina was mistaken in supposing that I complained that, under the existing duty, the Kentucky manufacturer could not compete with the Scotch. The Kentuckian furnishes a more substantial and a cheaper article, and at a more uniform and regular price. But it was the frauds, the violations of law, of which I did complain; not smuggling, in the common sense of that practice, which has something bold, daring, and enterprising in it, but mean, barefaced cheating, by fraudulent invoices and false denominations.

I plant myself upon this fact, of cheapness and superiority, as upon impregnable ground. Gentlemen may tax their ingenuity, and produce a thousand speculative solutions of the fact, but the fact itself will remain undisturbed. Let us look into some particulars. The total consumption of bar-iron in the United States is supposed to be about 146,000 tons, of which 112,866 tons are made within the country, and the residue imported. The number of men employed in the manufacture is estimated at 29,254, and the total number of persons subsisting by it at 146,273. The measure of protection extended to this necessary article was never fully adequate until the passage of the act of 1828; and what has been the consequence? The annual increase of quantity since that period has been in a ratio of near 25 per centum, and the wholesale price of bar-iron in the Northern cities was, in 1828, $105 per ton; in 1829, $100; in 1830, $90; and in 1831, from $85 to $75 — constantly diminishing. We import very little English iron, and that which we do is very inferior, and only adapted to a few purposes. In instituting a comparison between that inferior article and our superior iron, subjects entirely different are compared. They are made by different processes. The English cannot make iron of equal quality to ours at a less price than we do. They have three classes, best-best, and best, and ordinary. It is the latter which is imported. Of the whole amount imported there is only about four thousand tons of foreign iron that pays the high duty, the residue paying only a duty of about thirty per centum, estimated on the prices of the importation of 1829. Our iron ore is superior to that of Great Britain, yielding often from sixty to eighty per centum, while theirs produces

only about twenty-five. This fact is so well known that I have heard of recent exportations of iron ore to England.

It has been alleged that bar-iron, being a raw material, ought to be admitted free, or with low duties, for the sake of the manufacturers themselves. But I take this to be the true principle: that if our country is producing a raw material of prime necessity, and with reasonable protection can produce it in sufficient quantity to supply our wants, that raw material ought to be protected, although it may be proper to protect the article also out of which it is manufactured. The tailor will ask protection for himself, but wishes it denied to the grower of wool and the manufacturer of broadcloth. The cotton-planter enjoys protection for the raw material, but does not desire it to be extended to the cotton manufacturer. The shipbuilder will ask protection for navigation, but does not wish it extended to the essential articles which enter into the construction of his ship. Each in his proper vocation solicits protection, but would have it denied to all other interests which are supposed to come into collision with his. * * *

I hold in my hand a statement, derived from the most authentic source, showing that the identical description of cotton cloth, which sold in 1817 at twenty-nine cents per yard, was sold in 1819 at twenty-one cents, in 1821 at nineteen and a half cents, in 1823 at seventeen cents, in 1825 at fourteen and a half cents, in 1827 at thirteen cents, in 1829 at nine cents, in 1830 at nine and a half cents, and in 1831 at from ten and a half to eleven cents. Such is the wonderful effect of protection, competition, and improvement in skill, combined. The year 1829 was one of some suffering to this branch of industry, probably owing to the principle of competition being pushed too far. Hence we observe a small rise of the article of the next two years. The introduction of calico-printing into the United States constitutes an important era in our manufacturing industry. It commenced about the year 1825, and has since made such astonishing advances, that the whole quantity now annually printed is but little short of forty millions of yards — about two-thirds of our whole consumption. * * *

In respect to woollens, every gentleman's own observation and experience will enable him to judge of the great reduction of price which has taken place in most of these articles since the tariff of 1824. It would have been still greater, but for the high duty on raw material, imposed for the particular benefit of the farming interest. But, without going into particular details, I shall limit myself to inviting the attention of the Senate to a single article of general and necessary use. The protection given to flannels in 1828 was fully adequate. It has enabled the American manufacturer to obtain complete possession of the

American market; and now, let us look at the effect. I have before me a statement from a highly respectable mercantile house, showing the price of four descriptions of flannels during six years. The average price of them, in 1826, was thirty-eight and three-quarter cents; in 1827, thirty-eight; in 1828 (the year of the tariff), forty-six; in 1829, thirty-six; in 1830 (notwithstanding the advance in the price of wool), thirty-two; and in 1831, thirty-two and one-quarter. These facts require no comments. I have before me another statement of a practical and respectable man, well versed in the flannel manufacture in America and England, demonstrating that the cost of manufacture is precisely the same in both countries; and that, although a yard of flannel which would sell in England at fifteen cents would command here twenty-two, the difference of seven cents is the exact difference between the cost in the two countries of the six ounces of wool contained in a yard of flannel.

Brown sugar, during ten years, from 1792 to 1802, with a duty of one and a half cents per pound, averaged fourteen cents per pound. The same article, during ten years, from 1820 to 1830, with a duty of three cents, has averaged only eight cents per pound. Nails, with a duty of five cents per pound, are selling at six cents. Window-glass, eight by ten, prior to the tariff of 1824, sold at twelve or thirteen dollars per hundred feet; it now sells for three dollars and seventy-five cents. * * *

This brings me to consider what I apprehend to have been the most efficient of all the causes in the reduction of the prices of manufactured articles, and that is COMPETITION. By competition the total amount of the supply is increased, and by increase of the supply a competition in the sale ensues, and this enables the consumer to buy at lower rates. Of all human powers operating on the affairs of mankind, none is greater than that of competition. It is action and reaction. It operates between individuals of the same nation, and between different nations. It resembles the meeting of the mountain torrent, grooving, by its precipitous motion, its own channel, and ocean's tide? Unopposed, it sweeps everything before it; but, counterpoised, the waters become calm, safe, and regular. It is like the segments of a circle or an arch; taken separately, each is nothing; but in their combination they produce efficiency, symmetry, and perfection. By the American system this vast power has been excited in America, and brought into being to act in co-operation or collision with European industry. Europe acts within itself, and with America; and America acts within itself, and with Europe. The consequence is the reduction of prices in both hemispheres. Nor is it fair to argue from the reduction of prices in Europe to her own presumed skill and labor exclusively. We affect her prices, and she affects ours. This must always

be the case, at least in reference to any articles as to which there is not a total non-intercourse; and if our industry by diminishing the demand for her supplies, should produce a diminution in the price of those supplies, it would be very unfair to ascribe that reduction to her ingenuity, instead of placing it to the credit of our own skill and *excited* industry. * * *

The great law of *price* is determined by supply and demand. What affects either affects the price. If the supply is increased, the demand remaining the same, the price declines; if the demand is increased, the supply remaining the same, the price advances; if both supply and demand are undiminished, the price is stationary, and the price is influenced exactly in proportion to the degree of disturbance to the demand or supply. It is, therefore, a great error to suppose that an existing or new duty *necessarily* becomes a component element to its exact amount of price. If the proportions of demand and supply are varied by the duty, either in augmenting the supply or diminishing the demand, or *vice versa*, the price is affected to the extent of that variation. But the duty never becomes an integral part of the price, except in the instances where the demand and the supply remain after the duty is imposed precisely what they were before, or the demand is increased, and the supply remains stationary.

Competition, therefore, wherever existing, whether at home or abroad, is the parent cause of cheapness. If a high duty excites production at home, and the quantity of the domestic article exceeds the amount which had been previously imported, the price will fall. * * *

But it is argued that if, by the skill, experience, and perfection which we have acquired in certain branches of manufacture, they can be made as cheap as similar articles abroad, and enter fairly into competition with them, why not repeal the duties as to those articles? And why should we? Assuming the truth of the supposition, the foreign article would not be introduced in the regular course of trade, but would remain excluded by the possession of the home market, while the domestic article had obtained. The repeal, therefore, would have no legitimate effect. But might not the foreign article be imported in vast quantities, to glut our markets, break down our establishments, and ultimately to enable the foreigner to monopolize the supply of our consumption? America is the greatest foreign market for European manufactures. It is that to which European attention is constantly directed. If a great house becomes bankrupt there, its storehouses are emptied, and the goods are shipped to America, where, in consequence of our auctions, and our custom-house credits, the greatest facilities are afforded in the sale of them. Combinations among manufacturers might take place, or even the operations of foreign governments might be directed to the

destruction of our establishments. A repeal, therefore, of one protecting duty, from some one or all of these causes, would be followed by flooding the country with the foreign fabric, surcharging the market, reducing the price, and a complete prostration of our manufactories; after which the foreigner would leisurely look about to indemnify himself in the increased prices which he would be enabled to command by his monopoly of the supply of our consumption. What American citizen, after the Government had displayed this vacillating policy, would be again tempted to place the smallest confidence in the public faith, and adventure once more into this branch of industry? * * *

I feel most sensibly, Mr. President, how much I have trespassed upon the Senate. My apology is a deep and deliberate conviction, that the great cause under debate involves the prosperity and the destiny of the Union. But the best requital I can make, for the friendly indulgence which has been extended to me by the Senate, and for which I shall ever retain sentiments of lasting gratitude, is to proceed with as little delay as practicable, to the conclusion of a discourse which has not been more tedious to the Senate than exhausting to me. I have now to consider the remaining of the two propositions which I have already announced. That is —

Second, that under the operation of the American system, the products of our agriculture command a higher price than they would do without it, by the creation of a home market, and by the augmentation of wealth produced by manufacturing industry, which enlarges our powers of consumption both of domestic and foreign articles. The importance of the home market is among the established maxims which are universally recognized by all writers and all men. However some may differ as to the relative advantages of the foreign and the home market, none deny to the latter great value and high consideration. It is nearer to us; beyond the control of foreign legislation; and undisturbed by those vicissitudes to which all international intercourse is more or less exposed. The most stupid are sensible of the benefit of a residence in the vicinity of a large manufactory, or of a market-town, of a good road, or of a navigable stream, which connects their farms with some great capital. * * * But let us quit this field of theory, clear as it is, and look at the practical operation of the system of protection, beginning with the most valuable staple of our agriculture.

In considering this staple, the first circumstance that excites our surprise is the rapidity with which the amount of it has annually increased. Does not this fact, however, demonstrate that the cultivation of it could not have been so very unprofitable? If the business were ruinous, would more and more have annually engaged in it? The quantity in 1816 was eighty-one millions of

pounds; in 1826, two hundred and four millions; and in 1830, near three hundred millions! The ground of greatest surprise is that it has been able to sustain even its present price with such an enormous augmentation of quantity. It could not have been done but for the combined operation of three causes, by which the consumption of cotton fabrics has been greatly extended in consequence of their reduced prices: first, competition; second, the improvement of labor-saving machinery; and thirdly, the low price of the raw material. The crop of 1819, amounting to eighty-eight millions of pounds, produced twenty-one millions of dollars; the crop of 1823, when the amount was swelled to one hundred and seventy-four millions (almost double of that of 1819), produced a less sum by more than half a million of dollars; and the crop of 1824, amounting to thirty millions of pounds less than that of the preceding year, produced a million and a half of dollars more.

If there be any foundation for the established law of price, supply, and demand, ought not the fact of this great increase of the supply to account satisfactorily for the alleged low price of cotton? * * *

Let us suppose that the home demand for cotton, which has been created by the American system, should cease, and that the two hundred thousand bales which the home market now absorbs were now thrown into the glutted markets of foreign countries; would not the effect inevitably be to produce a further and great reduction in the price of the article? If there be any truth in the facts and principles which I have before stated and endeavored to illustrate, it cannot be doubted that the existence of American manufactures has tended to increase the demand and extend the consumption of the raw material; and that, but for this increased demand, the price of the article would have fallen possibly one-half lower than it now is. The error of the opposite argument is in assuming one thing, which being denied, the whole fails — that is, it assumes that the *whole* labor of the United States would be profitably employed without manufactures. Now, the truth is that the system excites and creates labor, and this labor creates wealth, and this new wealth communicates additional ability to consume, which acts on all the objects contributing to human comfort and enjoyment. The amount of cotton imported into the two ports of Boston and Providence alone during the last year (and it was imported exclusively for the home manufacture) was one hundred and nine thousand five hundred and seventeen bales. * * *

I could extend and dwell on the long list of articles — the hemp, iron, lead, coal, and other items — for which a demand is created in the home market by the operation of the American system; but I should exhaust the patience of the Senate. *Where, where* should we find a market for all these articles,

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if it did not exist at home? What would be the condition of the largest portion of our people, and of the territory, if this home market were annihilated? How could they be supplied with objects of prime necessity? What would not be the certain and inevitable decline in the price of all these articles, but for the home market? And allow me, Mr. President, to say, that of all the agricultural parts of the United States which are benefited by the operation of this system, none are equally so with those which border the Chesapeake Bay, the lower parts of North Carolina, Virginia, and the two shores of Maryland. Their facilities of transportation, and proximity to the North, give them decided advantages.

But if all this reasoning were totally fallacious; if the price of manufactured articles were really higher, under the American system, than without it, I should still argue that high or low prices were themselves relative — relative to the ability to pay them. It is in vain to tempt, to tantalize us with the lower prices of European fabrics than our own, if we have nothing wherewith to purchase them. If, by the home exchanges, we can be supplied with necessary, even if they are dearer and worse, articles of American production than the foreign, it is better than not to be supplied at all. And how would the large portion of our country, which I have described, be supplied, but for the home exchanges? A poor people, destitute of wealth or of exchangeable commodities, have nothing to purchase foreign fabrics with. To them they are equally beyond their reach, whether their cost be a dollar or a guinea. * * * I conclude this part of the argument with the hope that my humble exertions have not been altogether unsuccessful in showing:

First, that the policy which we have been considering ought to continue to be regarded as the genuine American system.

Secondly, that the free-trade system, which is proposed as its substitute, ought really to be considered as the British colonial system.

Thirdly, that the American system is beneficial to all parts of the Union, and absolutely necessary to much the larger portion.

Fourthly, that the price of the great staple of cotton, and of all our chief productions of agriculture, has been sustained and upheld, and a decline averted, by the protective system.

Fifthly, that if the foreign demand for cotton has been at all diminished, the diminution has been more than compensated in the additional demand created at home.

Sixthly, that the constant tendency of the system, by creating competition among ourselves, and between American and European industry, reciprocally acting upon each other, is to reduce prices of manufactured objects.

Seventhly, that, in point of fact, objects within the scope of the policy of protection have greatly fallen in price.

Eighthly, that if, in a season of peace, these benefits are experienced, in a season of war, when the foreign supply might be cut off, they would be much more extensively felt.

Ninthly, and finally, that the substitution of the British colonial system for the American system, without benefiting any section of the Union, by subjecting us to a foreign legislation, regulated by foreign interests, would lead to the prostration of our manufactories, general impoverishment, and ultimate ruin. * * *

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(Delivered in the United States Senate, February 2-6, 1832.)

The Education of the People.

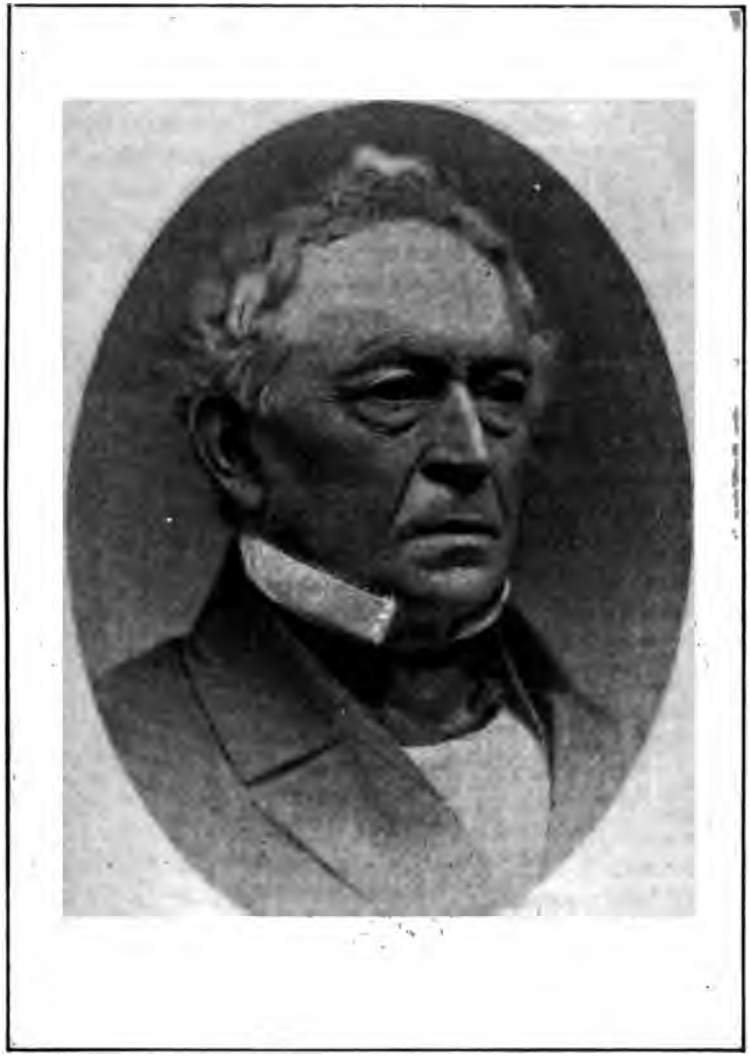
By EDWARD EVERETT, of Massachusetts.
(Born 1794, died 1865.)

* * * * * * * *

IT is usual to compare the culture of the mind to the culture of the earth. If the husbandman relax his labors, and his field be left untilled, this year or the next, although a crop or two be lost, the evil may be remedied. The land, with its productive qualities, remains. If not plowed and planted this year, it may be the year after. But if the mind be wholly neglected during the period most proper for its cultivation, if it be suffered to remain dark and uninformed, its vital power perishes; for all the purposes of an intellectual nature, it is lost. It is as if an earthquake had swallowed up the uncultivated fallows, or as if a swollen river had washed away, not merely the standing crop, but the bank on which it was growing. When the time for education has gone by, the man must, in ordinary cases, be launched upon the world a benighted being, scarcely elevated above the beasts that perish; and all that he could have been and done for society and for himself is wholly lost.

Although this utter sacrifice of the intellectual nature is rarely made in this part of the country, I fear there exists, even here, a woeful waste of mental power, through neglect of education. Taking our population as a whole, I fear that there is not nearly time enough passed at school; that many of those employed in the business of instruction are incompetent to the work; and that our best teachers are not sufficiently furnished with literary apparatus, particularly with school libraries. If these defects could be supplied, I believe a few years would witness a wonderful effect upon the community; that an impulse, not easily conceived beforehand, would be given to individual and social character.

I am strongly convinced that it behooves our ancient commonwealth to look anxiously to this subject, if she wishes to maintain her honorable standing in this Union of States. I am not grieved when I behold on the map the



EDWARD EVERETT.

enormous dimensions of some of the new States in the West, as contrasted with the narrow little strip which comprises the good old Bay State. They are bone of our bone, and flesh of our flesh; their welfare is closely interwoven with ours; in everything that can promote their solid prosperity, I bid them God-speed with all my heart. I hear, without discontent, the astonishing accounts of their fertility; that their vast prairies are covered with more feet of rich vegetable mold than our soil, on an average, can boast of inches; and I can bear to hear it said, without envy, that their Missouri and Mississippi, the mighty Abana and Pharpar of the West, are better than all the waters of our poor New England Israel.

All this I can bear; but I cannot bear that our beloved native State, whose corner-stone was laid upon an intellectual and moral basis, should deprive itself, by its own neglect, of the great counterpoise to these physical advantages. Give the sons of Massachusetts, small and comparatively unfertile as she is, the means of a good education, and they will stand against the world. Give me the means of educating my children, and I will not exchange its thirstiest sands, nor its barest peak, for the most fertile spot on earth, deprived of those blessings. I would rather occupy the bleakest nook of the mountain that towers above us, with the wild wolf and the rattlesnake for my nearest neighbors, with a village school, well kept, at the bottom of the hill, than dwell in a paradise of fertility, if I must bring up my children in lazy, pampered, self-sufficient ignorance. A man may protect himself against the rattle and the venom; but if he unnecessarily leaves the mind of his offspring a prey to ignorance, and the vices that too often follow in its train, he may find, too late for remedy,

> "How sharper than a serpent's tooth it is
> To have a thankless child."

A thankless child! No; I will not wrong him. He may be anything else that is bad, but he cannot be a *thankless* child. What has he to be thankful for? No! the man who unnecessarily deprives his son of education, and thus knowingly trains him up in the way he should not go, may have a perverse, an intractable, a prodigal child, one who will bring down his gray hairs with sorrow to the grave; but a thankless child he cannot have.

As I have said, I think this matter must be looked to. If the all-important duty of training the young is intrusted to the cheapest hand that can be hired to do the work,— to one who is barely able to pass a nominal examination, by a committee sometimes more ignorant than himself, in the *modicum* of learning prescribed by law; and slender as the privilege of such instruction is, if it be

enjoyed by our children but for ten or twelve weeks in the year, as is the case in too many towns in the commonwealth, it is plain to see that they are deprived of the best part of their birthright. I know it is said that these few weeks, in the depth of winter, are all of his children's time that the frugal husbandman can spare. But can it be so? Can the labors of the field, or any other labors, be so hotly pressed among us, that ten or twelve weeks are all the time for which the labor of the youth of both sexes can be dispensed with, for five or six hours a day? I speak with diffidence on the subject; but such, I apprehend, cannot be the case. I cannot but think that a majority of the citizens of Massachusetts, of all pursuits and callings, might, without the least detriment to their interests, send their children steadily to a good school seven months in the year, and more or less of the time the other five. Without detriment, did I say? Nay, with incalculable advantage to their children, to themselves, and to the State.

It would be more rational to talk about not affording seed-corn than to talk about not affording our children as much of their time as is necessary for their education. What! shall a man plant his field, and allow his child's intellect to run to weeds? It would be as wise to eat up all the wheat, and sow the husks and the chaff for next year's crop, as, on a principle of thrift, to sow ignorance and its attendant helplessness and prejudices in your children's minds, and expect to reap an honorable and a happy manhood. It would be better husbandry to go, in the summer, and clatter with a hoe in the bare gravel, where nothing was ever sown but the feathered seed of the Canada thistle, which the west wind drops from its sweeping wings, and come back, in autumn, and expect to find a field of yellow grain nodding to the sickle, than to allow your son to grow up without useful knowledge, and expect that he will sustain himself with respectability in life, or (if consideration must be had of self-interest) prop and comfort your decline. Not spare our children's time! Spare it, I might ask you, from what? Is anything more important? Spare it for what? Can it be better employed than in that cultivation of the mind which will vastly increase the value of every subsequent hour of life? And to confine them, in the morning of their days, to a round of labor for the meat that perisheth, is it not, when our children ask for bread, to give them a stone? when they ask for a fish, to give them a serpent, which will sting our bosoms as well as theirs?

Our governments, as well as individuals, have, I must needs say, a duty to discharge to the cause of education. Something has been done — by some of the State Governments much has been done — for this cause; but too much, I fear, remains undone. In the main, in appropriating the public funds, we tread

too much in the footsteps of European precedents. I could wish our legislators might be animated with a purer ambition. In other parts of the world, the resources of the State, too often wrung from their rightful possessors, are squandered on the luxury of governments, built up into the walls of stately palaces or massy fortifications, devoured by mighty armies, sunk by overgrown navies to the bottom of the sea, swallowed up in the eternal wars of State policy. The treasure expended in a grand campaign of the armies of the leading States of Europe would send a schoolmaster to every hamlet, from Archangel to Lisbon. The annual expense of supporting the armies and navies of Great Britain and France, if applied to the relief and education of the poor in those countries, would change the character of the age in which we live. Perhaps, it is too much to hope that, in the present condition of the politics of Europe, this system can be departed from. It seems to be admitted, as a fundamental maxim of international law among its governments, that the whole energy of their civilization must be exhausted in preventing them from destroying each other. With us, on the contrary, while the union of the States is preserved (and Heaven grant it may be perpetual), there is nothing to prevent the appropriation, to moral and intellectual objects, of a great part of those resources which are elsewhere lavished on luxury and war.

How devoutly is it to be wished that we could feel the beauty and dignity of such a policy, and aim at a new development of national character! From the earliest period of history, the mighty power of the association of millions of men into a people, moved by one political will, has been applied to objects at which humanity weeps, and which, were they not written on every page of the world's experience, would be absolutely incredible. From time to time a personal gathering is witnessed; mighty numbers of the population assemble *en masse*. Doubtless, it is some noble work which they are going to achieve. Marshaled beneath gay and joyous banners, cheered with the soul-stirring strains of music, honored, admired, behold how they move forward, the flower of the community, clothed, fed, and paid, at the public expense, to some grand undertaking! They go not empty-handed; their approach is discerned afar by a forest of glittering steel above their heads, and the earth groans beneath their trains of enginery, of strange form and superhuman power. What errand of love has called them out, the elected host, to go in person, side by side, and unite the mighty mass of their physical powers in one vast effort? Let the sharp volley that rings along the lines; let the scarcely mimic thunder which rends the sky; let the agonizing shrieks which rise from torn and trampled thousands,— return the answer. Their errand is death. They go, not to create,

but to destroy; to waste and to slay; to blast the works of civilization and peace; to wrap cities in flames; and to cover fertile fields with bloody ashes.

I cannot, will not, believe that social man can rise no higher than this; that reason and experience, self-interest and humanity, the light of nature, the progress of knowledge, and the word of God, will forever prove too feeble for this monstrous perversion of human energy. I must believe that the day will yet dawn when the greatest efforts of individual and social man will be turned to the promotion of the welfare of his brother man. If this hope is to be realized, it must be by the joint action of enlightened reason, elevated morals, and pure religion, brought home, by a liberal and efficient system of education and the aid of Heaven, to every fireside and every heart.

Amidst much to awaken solicitude in the condition of things in our beloved country as respects the progress of improvement, there is yet many a spot within its borders sacred to better hopes and higher anticipations. Let us dwell, for a moment, on the phenomena which have been exhibited on the spot where we are now assembled. Scarcely eighty years have elapsed since this village was the site of a small frontier post. Nothing which could be called settlement had crossed Connecticut river. The pioneers of civilization had begun to find their way into Berkshire, but they hardly ventured beyond the reach of the line of forts which guarded the frontier. Sheffield and Stockbridge were, I believe, the only towns incorporated before the old French War; and beyond them, westward, commenced the dreary wilderness; pathless, except as it was threaded by war parties from Canada and New England, and by bands of wretched captives, dragged from their homes, at midnight, to a miserable slavery among the French and Indians. The alternate action of the two nations who stood at the head of the civilization of the world, had been felt for a century in these still valleys and venerable forests; but it was felt only to add the arts of civilized destruction to the horrors of savage warfare. One century of peaceful improvement and hopeful progress was blotted from the history of this portion of frontier America.

But the seeds of improvement were sown even in this bloody soil. One of those generous spirits who, from time to time, are raised up to accomplish great objects, was stationed in this corner of the commonwealth, in command of the line of forts erected for border defense. You know that I allude to the founder of this college. He foresaw, even then, the probable destinies of the country. He knew that the dreary forest was not designed forever to incumber the soil. He beheld it yielding to the march of civilization. As he heard the crash of the sturdy trunk, falling beneath the narrow ax of the settler; as he saw the log cabins slowly rising on the edge of the clearing, and beheld the smoke

here and there curling up in the lonely and mysterious woods; as he heard the voice of the mountain stream, then babbling unheeded over the rocks,— his sagacious mind overleaped the interval of years. He was called, by his intrepid spirit and his country's voice, to take an active part in the first scenes of the War of 1755. A presentiment of his fate seems to have been upon his mind. Before plunging into the campaign, he made provision for the appropriation of his fortune to furnish the means of education to the people whose struggles, in settling this region, he had witnessed and shared. His will was made at Albany, on the 22d of July, 1755, bequeathing his property for the foundation of this institution; and, on the 8th of September of the same year, in an engagement with the troops under the Baron Dieskau, he fell at the head of his regiment. Eighty years only have passed away. The laudable purposes of your founder have been more than fulfilled; and out of the living fountain struck open in the desert by his generous bequest, abundant streams of piety and learning have flowed and are flowing.

Colonel Williams's character was of no ordinary mold. At a distance from the seat of his benefaction full justice has not been done to his memory. A man of the happiest temperament, a gentleman of the true natural stamp, unassuming and simple, supplying the deficiency of a learned education by large experience of men and things, acquired in foreign travel, in the Legislature, and in the Army, yet modestly lamenting what others did not trace, his want of early advantages; without a family, but the patriarch of the frontier settlement where he was stationed,— he fell, in the prime of early manhood, a victim to his patriotic zeal. A brief sketch of his biography, in one of the early volumes of the Massachusetts Historical Collections, informs us that he witnessed, with humane and painful sensations, the dangers, difficulties, and hardships which the settlers of these valleys were obliged to encounter; and that, to encourage them, he was accustomed to imitate the purpose which was carried into effect in his will. I regret not to have found Colonel Williams's views on this subject preserved somewhat in detail. It would have been exceedingly interesting to see the topic of education, in reference to the wants of a newly-settled country, as it presented itself to the practical view of a man of his character, on the eve of a war. As no such record, as far as I know, has been preserved, you will pardon me for attempting to present the subject to you, under the same light in which he may have contemplated it.

"My friends" (we may conceive he would say to a group of settlers, gathered about old Fort Massachusetts, on some fit occasion, not long before his marching toward the place of rendezvous), "your hardships, I am aware, are great. I have witnessed, I have shared them. The hardships incident to

opening a new country are always severe. They are heightened, in our case, by the constant danger in which we live from the savage enemy. At present, we are rather encamped than settled. We live in blockhouses; we lie upon our arms by night; and, like the Jews who returned to build Jerusalem, we go to work, by day, with the implements of husbandry in one hand and the weapons of war in the other. Nor is this the worst. We have been bred up in the populous settlements on the coast, where the schoolhouse and the church are found at the center of every village. Here, as yet, we can have neither. I know these things weigh upon you. You look upon the dark and impenetrable forests, in which you have made an opening, and contrast it with the pleasant villages where you were born and passed your early years, where your parents are yet living, or where they have gone to their rest; and you cannot suppress a painful emotion.

"You are, more especially, as I perceive, somewhat disheartened at the present moment of impending war. But, my friends, let not your spirits sink. The prospect is overcast, but brighter days will come. In vision I can plainly foresee them. The forest disappears; the cornfield, the pasture, takes its place; the hillsides are spotted with flocks; the music of the water-wheel sounds in accord with the dashing stream. Your little groups of log cabins swell into prosperous villages. Schools and churches spring up in the waste; institutions for learning arise; and in what is now a wild solitude, libraries and cabinets unfold their treasures, and observatories point their tubes to the heavens. I tell you that not all the united powers of all the French and Indians on the St. Lawrence,— no, not if backed by all the powers of darkness which seem, at times, in league with them to infest this howling wilderness,— will long prevent the valleys of the Hoosac and the Housatonic from becoming the abode of industry, abundance, and refinement. A century will not pass, before the voice of domestic wisdom and fireside inspiration, from the vales of Berkshire, will be heard throughout America and Europe. As for the contest impending, I am sure we shall conquer; if I mistake not, it is the first of a series of events of unutterable moment to all America, and even to mankind. Before it closes, the banner of St. George will float, I am sure, over Cape Diamond; and the extension of the British power over the whole continent will be but the first act of a great drama, whose catastrophe I but dimly foresee.

"I speak of what concerns the whole country; the fortune of individuals is wrapped in the uncertain future. For myself, I must own that I feel a foreboding at my heart which I cannot throw off. I can only say, if my hour is come (and I think it is not distant), I am prepared. I have been able to do

but little; but it Providence has no further work for me to perform, I am ready to be discharged from the warfare. It is my purpose, before I am taken from you, to make a disposition of my property for the benefit of this infant community. My heart's desire is that, in the picture of its future prosperity, which I behold in mental view, the last and best of earthly blessings shall not be wanting. I shall deem my life not spent in vain, though it be cut off to-morrow, if, at its close, I shall be accepted as the humble instrument of promoting the great cause of education.

" My friends, as I am soon to join the Army, we meet, many of us, perhaps, for the last time. I am a solitary branch; I can be spared. I have no wife to feel my loss; no children to follow me to the grave. I may fall by the tomahawk, or in the front of honorable battle; on the shores of the stormy lake, or in the infested woods; and this poor body may want even a friendly hand to protect it from insult. But I must take the chance of a soldier's life. When I am gone, you will find some proof that my last thoughts were with the settlers of Fort Massachusetts; and perhaps, at some future day, should my desire to serve you and your children not be disappointed, my humble name will not be forgotten in the public assembly, and posterity will bestow a tear on the memory of Ephraim Williams."

(Being part of an address to the Adelphic Union Society of Williams College, August 16, 1837.)

Necessity of Compromises in Politics.

By RUFUS CHOATE, of Massachusetts.

(Born 1799, died 1859.)

LET me say, sir, that to administer the contested powers of the Constitution is, for those of you who believe that they exist, at all times a trust of difficulty and delicacy. I do not know that I should not venture to suggest this general direction for the performance of that grave duty. Steadily and strongly assert their existence; do not surrender them; retain them with a provident forecast; for the time may come when you will need to enforce them by the whole moral and physical strength of the Union; but do not exert them at all so long as you can by other less offensive expedients of wisdom effectually secure to the people all the practical benefits which you believe they were inserted into the Constitution to secure. Thus will the Union last longest and do most good. To exercise a contested power without necessity on a notion of keeping up the tone of government is not much better than tyranny, and very improvident and impolitic tyranny, too. It is turning "extreme medicine into daily bread." It forgets that the final end of government is not to exert restraint, but to do good.

Within this general view of the true mode of administering contested powers, I think the measure we propose is as wise as it is conciliatory; wise because it is conciliatory; wise because it reconciles a sound and a strong theory of the Constitution with a discreet and kind administration of it. I desire to give the country a bank. Well, here is a mode in which I can do it. Shall I refuse to do it in that mode, because I cannot at the same time, and by the same operation, gain a victory over the settled constitutional opinions, and show my contempt for the ancient and unappeasable jealousy and prejudices of not far less than half of the American people? Shall I refuse to do it in that mode, because I cannot at the same time, and by the same operation, win a triumph of constitutional law over political associates, who agree with me on nine in ten of all the questions which divide the parties of the country; whose energies and eloquence, under many an October and many an August sun, have contributed so much to the transcendent reformation which has brought you into power? Shall I refuse to the people their rights, until and unless, by the mode

RUFUS CHOATE.

of conferring those rights, I can also plant a wound in the side of one who has stood shoulder to shoulder with me in the great civil contest of the last ten years? Do you really desire that the same cloud of summer which pauses to pour out its treasures, long withheld, on the parched and dreary land, should send down a thunderbolt on the head of a noble and conspicuous friend? Certainly nobody here can cherish such a thought for a moment.

(Delivered in the United States Senate, July 2, 1841.)

Valedictory.

By HENRY CLAY, of Kentucky.

(Born 1777, died 1852.)

BUT, sir, if I have a difficulty in giving utterance to an expression of the feelings of gratitude which fill my heart toward my friends, dispersed throughout this continent, what shall I say — what can I say — at all commensurate with my feelings of gratitude toward that State whose humble servitor I am? I migrated to the State of Kentucky nearly forty-five years ago. I went there as an orphan, who had not yet attained his majority — who had never recognized a father's smile — poor, penniless, without the favor of the great — with an imperfect and inadequate education, limited to the means applicable to such a boy — but scarcely had I set foot upon that generous soil, before I was caressed with parental fondness — patronized with bountiful munificence — and I may add to this, that her choicest honors, often unsolicited, have been freely showered upon me; and when I stood, as it were, in the darkest moments of human existence — abandoned by the world, calumniated by a large portion of my own countrymen, she threw around me her impenetrable shield, and bore me aloft, and repelled the attacks of malignity and calumny, by which I was assailed. Sir, it is to me an unspeakable pleasure that I am shortly to return to her friendly limits; and that I shall finally deposit (and it will not be long before that day arrives) my last remains under her generous soil, with the remains of her gallant and patriotic sons who have preceded me. * * *

Yet, sir, during this long period, I have not escaped the fate of other public men, in this and other countries. I have been often, Mr. President, the object of bitter and unmeasured detraction and calumny. I have borne it, I will not say always with composure, but I have borne it without creating any disturbance. I have borne it waiting in unshaken and undoubting confidence, that the triumphs of truth and justice would ultimately prevail; and that time would settle all things as they ought to be settled. I have borne them under the conviction, of which no injustice, no wrong, no injury could deprive me, that I did not deserve them, and that he to whom we are all to be finally and ultimately responsible, would acquit me whatever injustice I might experience at the hands of my fellow men. * * *

Mr. President, a recent epithet (I do not know whether for the purpose of honor or of degradation) has been applied to me; and I have been held up to the country as a dictator! Dictator! The idea of dictatorship is drawn from Roman institutions; and there, when it was created, the person who was invested with this tremendous authority, concentrated in his own person the whole power of the State. He exercised unlimited control over the property and lives of the citizens of the commonwealth. He had the power of raising armies, and of raising revenue by taxing the people. If I have been a dictator, what have been the powers with which I have been clothed? Have I possessed an army, a navy, revenue? Have I had the distribution of the patronage of the Government? Have I, in short, possessed any power whatever? Sir, if I have been a dictator, I think those who apply the epithet to me must at least admit two things: in the first place, that my dictatorship has been distinguished by no cruel executions, stained by no deeds of blood, soiled by no act of dishonor. And they must no less acknowledge, in the second place (though I do not know when its commencement bears date, but I suppose, however, that it is intended to be averred, from the commencement of the extra session), that if I have been invested with, or have usurped the dictatorship, I have at least voluntarily surrendered the power within a shorter period than was assigned by the Roman laws for its continuance.

(From the farewell address delivered in the United States Senate in 1842.)

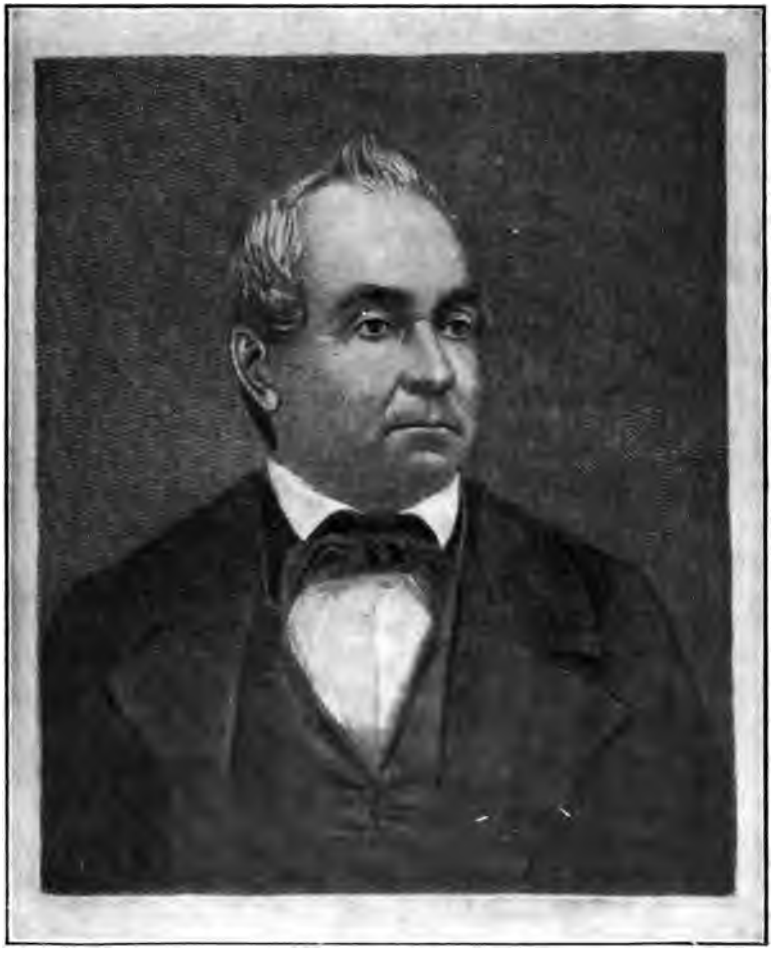
General Jackson's Fine.

By SILAS WRIGHT, of New York.

(Born 1795, died 1847.)

WHAT would be the fair inferences from the passage of the measure in its present form? That his every act upon that momentous occasion was within the strict letter and rule of the law? No, sir, no. Do the political friends of General Jackson ask you to say that? Not at all; and I believe in my heart that every member of the Senate will be his friend as to the passage of this bill, and will cheerfully say all which the bill calls upon them to say, if they will divest themselves of political prejudices, and look at the proposition as it is. It is conceded by all that General Jackson, upon the occasion referred to, acted precisely as, under the circumstances which surrounded him, he should have acted — precisely as the protection of the city of New Orleans and that important portion of the Union required he should act; and that he deserves, for his conduct in that memorable defense, the thanks and gratitude and approbation of his country. This concession is all the expression called for by the bill, by the friends of General Jackson, or by the General himself.

Yet, we are told that this is not the mode in which the approbation of the country should be manifested toward this distinguished officer, for his unexampled firmness and gallantry and success upon this great and glorious occasion; that we should pass a resolution presenting to him our thanks! Thanks, sir? The thanks of Congress were presented to him by the warm and cheerful hearts of those who occupied our places when his unparalleled services were better esteemed than they seem to be now — of those who were contemporaneous with the transactions, and upon whom was reflected the sweeping and resistless torrent of a nation's gratitude and admiration. Thanks from us? They would come cold and dead, after the manifestations of feeling which the defense of New Orleans drew fresh and warm from every heart in the country, as the news of the glorious victory of the 8th of January, 1815, spread itself over our broad land.



SILAS WRIGHT.

Is it desired to do justice to the fame of General Jackson, as to the penalty imposed upon him by Judge Hall? Pass a resolution, says the honorable Senator from Louisiana (Mr. Conrad), directing a painting to represent the scene — the judge in his robes, and the victorious general bowing himself before the majesty of the law, and submitting, without resistance, to the penalty and punishment inflicted upon him for having taken the measure of precaution and security necessary to enable him to win the laurels which adorned the elevated prisoner. Hang that picture in a niche of the rotunda of the Capitol, and thus make the General and his acts immortal.

Sir, such a picture would be a proud one for the country, and especially for that distinguished general; and I should rejoice to see it gracing the Capitol of the nation. But will you write beneath it, "We gained a thousand dollars to the public treasury by this operation, which has paid for this picture?" Will you hang the proud national emblem aloft in this marble palace, and invoke toward it the attention and admiration of all succeeding ages; and, in the very moment when you do so, make up a record upon your journal here, which must either disgrace the General, whose gallant services and patriotic forbearance gave the sketch for the painting, or must disgrace the country he so faithfully and disinterestedly served? The General, by his wisdom and valor, defended, with a handful of undisciplined militia, one of your proudest cities against a veteran enemy of many times his numbers. In doing so, he had, in the opinion of a judge and a lawyer, committed a technical breach of the law, and been guilty of a technical contempt of court. He was arraigned by the precise judge for his offense, and within the very bounds of his military camp, in the hour of his proud victory, and in the presence of his gallant companions in arms, and of thousands of his indignant countrymen, he unresistingly permitted himself to be led to the bar of the court as a criminal, and there received the sentence of the law, and paid this one thousand dollars as the penalty of the offense charged against him; not a human being then, as since, questioning the purity of his intentions, or the wisdom of his acts. This is the event, it is said, we should commemorate by a national painting; and yet we are urged to refuse to refund the penalty thus incurred in our service; or, if we do refund it, to say, as part of the act, that it was worthily imposed. Will we, can we, do this? No, sir, no. The heart of every man who occupies a seat here will tell him that he cannot do it; that he cannot vote for such a memorial to national honor and private merit, and place his vote at the foot of such a record.

Of what use would be such a painting? The transactions alluded to are painted upon the heart of every American citizen, in living colors, with a pencil more true, in figures more full and animated, and by impressions more indelible,

than art can produce. All that those pictures require is, that you rub from them the stain of this unmerited penalty; and that, they do not entreat, but demand at our hands. He did not say *illegal* penalty, but *unjust* and *unmerited* penalty. The bill did not say either illegal, or unjust, or unmerited penalty, in language; but its passage will say a penalty which his country, and not its faithful officer, should bear. He incurred it by the performance of acts necessary for the defense of that country, at a period of imminent peril; and the simple repayment of the money, in the manner proposed by the bill, will say to him, and to all who may come after him, and be charged with their country's defense in time of war, that if the performance of their responsible duties shall bring upon them legal penalties, neither their private fortunes nor their hard-earned reputations shall suffer in consequence; but that such penalties shall be upon the country they faithfully serve, not upon its faithful servants.

Does this bill, in its present form, propose to say more than this? Not one word. It does not say that the law was not technically violated; that the penalty was not legally imposed; or that the judge was not honest in his proceedings — but simply that the General acted as, in his conscience, he believed it was his duty to act; that he acted wisely for the object he had in view — the defense of an important and exposed section of the country against a powerful invading enemy; and that any penalties incurred by him, in the proper discharge of that responsible service, should be paid by the public treasury, and not by himself. Are not all ready to say this much in reference to transactions upon which the judgment of the country has been distinctly known, and known to be entirely favorable to the General, for a period of almost thirty years? Shall we not, then, pass this bill in its original form; and thus simply pay back this money and the interest, and avoid all these technical questions, upon which no Senator, as a mere lawyer, may desire now to pass?

(Being part of the speech delivered in the United States Senate, May 18, 1842.)

Chinese Mission.

By THOMAS H. BENTON, of North Carolina.

(Born 1782, died 1858.)

THAT there is no necessity for a treaty with China is proved by the fact that our trade with that country has been going on well without one for a century or two, and is now growing and increasing constantly. It is a trade conducted on the simple and elementary principle of "here is one" and "there is the other"— all ready-money, and hard money, or good products — no credit system, no paper money. For a long time this trade took nothing but silver dollars. At present it is taking some other articles, and especially a goodly quantity of Missouri lead. This has taken place without a treaty, and without an agent at forty thousand dollars expense. All things are going on well between us and the Chinese. Our relations are purely commercial, conducted on the simplest principles of trade, and unconnected with political views. China has no political connection with us. She is not within the system, or circle, of American policy. She can have no designs upon us, or views in relation to us; and we have no need of a Minister to watch and observe her conduct. Politically and commercially the mission is useless. By the Constitution, all the Ministers are to be appointed by the Senate; but this Minister to China is to be called an agent, and sent out by the President without the consent of the Senate; and thus, by imposing a false name upon the Minister, defraud the Senate of their control over the appointment. The enormity of the sum shows that the mission is to be more expensive than any one ever sent from the United States; and that it is to be one of the first grade, or of a higher grade than any known in our country. Nine thousand dollars per annum, and the same for an outfit, is the highest compensation known to our service; yet this forty thousand dollar mission may double that amount, and still the Minister be only called an agent, for the purpose of cheating the Senate out of its control over the appointment. The bill is fraudulent in relation to the compensation to be given to this ambassadorial agent. No sum is fixed, but he is to take what he pleases for himself and his suite. He and they are to help themselves; and, from the amount allowed, they may help

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themselves liberally. In all other cases, salaries and compensations are fixed by law, and graduated by time; here there is no limit of either money or time. This mission goes by the job — forty thousand dollars for the job — without regard to time or cost. A summer's work or a year's work, it is all the same thing: it is a job, and is evidently intended to enable a gentleman, who loves to travel in Europe and Asia, to extend his travels to the Celestial Empire at the expense of the United States, and to write a book. The settlement of the accounts is a fraud upon the treasury. In all cases of foreign missions, except where secret services are to be performed, and spies and informers to be dealt with, the accounts are settled at the Treasury Department, by the proper accounting officers; when secret services are to be covered, the fund out of which they are paid is then called the contingent foreign intercourse fund; and are settled at the State Department, upon a simple certificate from the President, that the money has been applied according to its intention. It was in this way that the notorious John Henry obtained his fifty thousand dollars during the late war; and that various other sums have been paid out to secret agents at different times. To this I do not object. Every government, in its foreign intercourse, must have recourse to agents, and have the benefit of some services, which would be defeated if made public; and which must, therefore, be veiled in secrecy, and paid for privately. This must happen in all governments; but not so in this case of the Chinese mission. Here, secrecy is intended for what our own Minister, his secretary, and his whole suite, are to receive. Not only what they may give in bribes to Chinese, but what they take in pay to themselves, is to be a secret. All is secret and irresponsible! And it will not do to assimilate this mission to the oldest government in the world, to the anomalous and anonymous missions to revolutionary countries. Such an analogy has been attempted in defense of this mission, and South American examples cited; but the cases are not analogous. Informal agencies, with secret objects, are proper to revolutionary governments; but here is to be a public mission, and an imposing one — the grandest ever sent out from the United States. To attempt to assimilate such a mission to a John Henry case, or to a South American agency, is absurd and impudent; and is a fraud upon the system of accountability to which all our missions are subjected.

The sum proposed is the same that is in the act of 1790, upon which the bill is framed. That act appropriated forty thousand dollars; but for what? For one mission? One man? One agent? One by himself, alone? No. Not at all. That appropriation of 1790 was for all the missions of the year — of every kind — public as well as secret; the forty thousand dollars in this bill is for one man. The whole diplomatic appropriation in the time of Washington

is now to be given to one man; and it is known pretty well who it is to be. Forty thousand dollars to enable one of our citizens to get to Pekin and to bump his head nineteen times on the ground, to get the privilege of standing up in the presence of his majesty of the Celestial Empire. And this is our work in the last night of this Congress. It is now midnight; and, like the midnight which preceded the departure of the elder Adams from the Government, the whole time is spent in making and filling offices. Providing for favorites and feeding out of the public crib is the only work to those whose brief reign is drawing to a close, and who have been already compelled by public sentiment to undo a part of their work. The bankrupt act is repealed by the Congress that made it; the distribution act has shared the same fate; and if they had another session to sit, the *mandamus* act against the States, the *habeas corpus* against the States, this Chinese mission, and all the other acts would be undone. It would be the true realization of the story of the queen who unraveled at night the web that she wove during the day. As it is, enough has been done, and undone, to characterize this Congress — to entitle it to the name of Ulysses' wife — not because (like the virtuous Penelope) it resisted seduction,— but because, like her, its own hands unraveled its own work.

(Being part of a speech delivered in the United States Senate in 1843.)

Annexation of Texas.

By THOMAS H. BENTON, of North Carolina.

(Born 1782, died 1858.)

THE President (Tyler), upon our call, sends us a map and a memoir from the topographical bureau to show the Senate the boundaries of the country he proposes to annex. This memoir is explicit in presenting the Rio Grande del Norte in its whole extent as a boundary of the Republic of Texas, and that in conformity to the law of the Texan Congress establishing its boundaries. The boundaries on the map conform to those in the memoir; each takes for the western limit the Rio Grande from head to mouth; and a law of the Texan Congress is copied into the margin of the map, to show the legal, and the actual, boundaries at the same time. From all this it results that the treaty before us, besides the incorporation of Texas proper, also incorporates into our Union the left bank of the Rio Grande, in its whole extent from its head spring in the Sierra Verde (Green Mountain), near the South Pass in the Rocky Mountains, to its mouth in the Gulf of Mexico, four degrees south of New Orleans, in latitude 26°. It is a "grand and solitary river," almost without affluents or tributaries. Its source is in the region of eternal snow; its outlet in the clime of eternal flowers. Its direct course is twelve hundred miles; its actual run about two thousand miles. This immense river, second on our continent to the Mississippi only, and but little inferior to it in length, is proposed to be added in the whole extent of its left bank to the American Union; and that by virtue of a treaty for the reannexation of Texas. Now, the real Texas which we acquired by the treaty of 1803, and flung away by the treaty of 1819, never approached the Rio Grande except near its mouth; while the whole upper part was settled by the Spaniards, and a great part of it in the year 1694 — just one hundred years before La Salle first saw Texas. All this upper part was then formed into provinces, on both sides of the river, and has remained under Spanish, or Mexican authority ever since. These former provinces of the Mexican viceroyalty, now departments of the Mexican Republic, lying on both sides of the Rio Grande from its head to its mouth, we now propose to incorporate, so far as they lie on the left bank of the river,

into our Union, by virtue of a treaty of reannexation with Texas. Let us pause and look at our new and important proposed acquisitions in this quarter. First: there is the department, formerly the province of New Mexico, lying on both sides of the river from its head spring to near the Paso del Norte — that is to say, half down the river. This department is studded with towns and villages — is populated — well cultivated — and covered with flocks and herds. On its left bank (for I only speak of the part which we propose to reannex) is, first, the frontier village Taos, three thousand souls, and where the custom-house is kept at which the Missouri caravans enter their goods. Then comes Santa Fé, the capital, four thousand souls; then Albuquerque, six thousand souls; then some scores of other towns and villages, all more or less populated, and surrounded by flocks and fields. Then come the departments of Chihuahua, Coahuila, and Tamaulipas, without settlements on the left bank of the river, but occupying the right bank, and commanding the left. All this — being parts of four Mexican departments — now under Mexican Governors and Governments, is permanently reannexed to this Union, if this treaty is ratified; and is actually reannexed from the moment of the signature of the treaty, according to the President's last message, to remain so until the acquisition is rejected by rejecting the treaty. The one-half of the department of New Mexico, with its capital, becomes a Territory of the United States; an angle of Chihuahua, at the Paso del Norte, famous for its wine, also becomes ours; a part of the department of Coahuila, not populated on the left bank, which we take, but commanded from the right bank by Mexican authorities; the same of Tamaulipas, the ancient Nuevo San Tander (New St. Andrew), and which covers both sides of the river from its mouth for some hundred miles up, and all the left bank of which is in the power and possession of Mexico. These, in addition to the old Texas, these parts of four States, these towns and villages, these people and territory, these flocks and herds, this slice of the Republic of Mexico, two thousand miles long, and some hundred broad, all this our President has cut off from its mother empire, and presents to us, and declares it is ours till the Senate rejects it. He calls it Texas; and the cutting off he calls reannexation. Humboldt calls it New Mexico, Chihuahua, Coahuila, and Nuevo San Tander (now Tamaulipas); and the civilized world may qualify this reannexation by the application of some odious and terrible epithet. Demosthenes advised the people of Athens not to take, but to retake a certain city; and in that *re* laid the virtue which saved the act from the character of spoliation and robbery. Will it be equally potent with us? and will the *re* prefixed to the annexation, legitimate the seizure of two thousand miles of a neighbor's dominion, with whom we have treaties of peace, and

friendship, and commerce? Will it legitimate this seizure, made by virtue of a treaty with Texas, when no Texan force — witness the disastrous expeditions to Mier and to Santa Fé — have been seen near it without being killed or taken, to the last man?

The treaty, in all that relates to the boundary of the Rio Grande, is an act of unparalleled outrage on Mexico. It is the seizure of two thousand miles of her territory without a word of explanation with her, and by virtue of a treaty with Texas, to which she is no party. Our Secretary of State (Mr. Calhoun), in his letter to the United States Chargé in Mexico, and seven days after the treaty was signed, and after the Mexican Minister had withdrawn from our seat of government, shows full well that he was conscious of the enormity of the outrage, knew it was war, and proffered volunteer apologies to avert the consequences which he knew he had provoked.

The President, in his special message of Wednesday last, informs us that we have acquired a title to the ceded territories by his signature to the treaty, wanting only the action of the Senate to perfect it; and that, in the meantime, he will protect it from invasion, and for that purpose has detached all the disposable portions of the Army and Navy to the scene of action. This is a caper about equal to the mad freaks with which the unfortunate Emperor Paul, of Russia, was accustomed to astonish Europe about forty years ago. By this declaration the thirty thousand Mexicans in the left half of the valley of the Rio del Norte are our citizens, and standing, in the language of the President's message, in a hostile attitude toward us, and subject to be repelled as invaders. Taos, the seat of the custom-house, where our caravans enter their goods, is ours; Santa Fé, the capital of New Mexico, is ours; Governor Armijo is our Governor, and subject to be tried for treason if he does not submit to us; twenty Mexican towns and villages are ours; and their peaceful inhabitants, cultivating their fields and tending their flocks, are suddenly converted, by a stroke of the President's pen, into American citizens, or American rebels. This is too bad; and, instead of making themselves party to its enormities, as the President invites them to do, I think rather that it is the duty of the Senate to wash its hands of all this part of the transaction by a special disapprobation. The Senate is the constitutional adviser of the President, and has the right, if not the duty, to give him advice when the occasion requires it. I, therefore, propose, as an additional resolution, applicable to the Rio del Norte boundary only — the one which I will read and send to the secretary's table — stamping as a spoliation this seizure of Mexican territory, and on which, at the proper time, I shall ask the vote of the Senate.

(Being part of the speech delivered in the United States Senate in 1844.)

The Mexican War.

By THOMAS CORWIN, of Ohio.
(Born 1794, died 1865.)

WHAT is the territory, Mr. President, which you propose to wrest from Mexico? It is consecrated to the heart of the Mexican by many a well-fought battle, with his old Castilian master. His Bunker Hills, and Saratogas, and Yorktowns are there. The Mexican can say, "There I bled for liberty! and shall I surrender that consecrated home of my affections to the Anglo-Saxon invaders? What do they want with it? They have Texas already. They have possessed themselves of the territory between the Nueces and the Rio Grande. What else do they want? To what shall I point my children as memorials of that independence which I bequeath to them, when those battlefields shall have passed from my possession?"

Sir, had one come and demanded Bunker Hill of the people of Massachusetts, had England's lion ever showed himself there, is there a man over thirteen, and under ninety, who would not have been ready to meet him — is there a river on this continent that would not have run red with blood — is there a field but would have been piled high with the unburied bones of slaughtered Americans before these consecrated battlefields of liberty should have been wrested from us? But this same American goes into a sister republic, and says to poor, weak Mexico, "Give up your territory — you are unworthy to possess it — I have got one-half already — all I ask you is to give up the other!" England might as well, in the circumstances I have described, have come and demanded of us "Give up the Atlantic slope — give up this trifling territory from the Allegheny mountains to the sea; it is only from Maine to St. Mary's — only about one-third of your Republic, and the least interesting portion of it." What would be the response? They would say, "We must give this up to John Bull." Why? "He wants room." The Senator from Michigan says he must have this. Why, my worthy Christian brother, on what principle of justice? "I want room!"

Sir, look at this pretense of want of room. With twenty millions of people, you have about one thousand millions of acres of land, inviting settlement by every conceivable argument — bringing them down to a quarter of a dollar an acre, and allowing every man to squat where he pleases. But the Senator from Michigan says we will be two hundred millions in a few years, and we want room. If I were a Mexican I would tell you, "Have you not room in your own country to bury your dead men? If you come into mine we will greet you with bloody hands, and welcome you to hospitable graves."

Why, says the chairman of this Committee of Foreign Relations, it is the most reasonable thing in the world! We ought to have the Bay of San Francisco. Why? Because it is the best harbor on the Pacific! It has been my fortune, Mr. President, to have practiced a good deal in criminal courts in the course of my life, but I never yet heard a thief, arraigned for stealing a horse, plead that it was the best horse that he could find in the country! We want California. What for? "Why," says the Senator from Michigan, "we will have it;" and the Senator from South Carolina, with a very mistaken view, I think, of policy, says, "You can't keep our people from going there." I don't desire to prevent them. Let them go and seek their happiness in whatever country or clime it pleases them.

All I ask of them is, not to require this Government to protect them with that banner consecrated to war waged for principles — eternal, enduring truth. Sir, it is not meet that our old flag should throw its protecting folds over expeditions for lucre or for land. But you still say, you want room for your people. This has been the plea of every robber-chief from Nimrod to the present hour. I dare say, when Tamerlane descended from his throne built of seventy thousand human skulls, and marched his ferocious battalions to further slaughter, I dare say he said, "I want room." Bajazet was another gentleman of kindred tastes and wants with us Anglo-Saxons — he "wanted room." Alexander, too, the mighty "Macedonian madman," when he wandered with his Greeks to the plains of India, and fought a bloody battle on the very ground where recently England and the Sikhs engaged in strife for "room," was, no doubt, in quest of some California there. Many a Monterey had he to storm to get "room." Sir, he made quite as much of that sort of history as you ever will. Mr. President, do you remember the last chapter in that history? It is soon read. Oh! I wish we could but understand its moral. Ammon's son (so was Alexander named), after all his victories, died drunk in Babylon! The vast empire he conquered to "get room" became the prey of the generals he had trained; it was disparted, torn to pieces, and so ended. Sir, there is a very significant appendix; it is this: the descendants of the Greeks — of Alexander's

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Greeks — are now governed by a descendant of Attila! Mr. President, while we are fighting for room, let us ponder deeply this appendix. I was somewhat amazed, the other day, to hear the Senator from Michigan declare that Europe had quite forgotten us till these battles waked them up. I suppose the Senator feels grateful to the President for "waking up" Europe. Does the President, who is, I hope, read in civic as well as military lore, remember the saying of one who had pondered upon history long — long, too, upon man, his nature and true destiny? Montesquieu did not think highly of this way of "waking up." "Happy," says he, "is that nation whose annals are tiresome."

The Senator from Michigan has a different view of this. He thinks that a nation is not distinguished until it is distinguished in war; he fears that the slumbering faculties of Europe have not been able to ascertain that there are twenty millions of Anglo-Saxons here, making railroads and canals, and speeding all the arts of peace to the utmost accomplishment of the most refined civilization. They do not know it! And what is the wonderful expedient which this democratic method of making history would adopt in order to make us known? Storming cities, desolating peaceful, happy homes, shooting men — aye, sir, such is war — and shooting women, too!

Sir, I have read, in some account of your battle of Monterery, of a lovely Mexican girl, who, with the benevolence of an angel in her bosom, and the robust courage of a hero in her heart, was busily engaged, during the bloody conflict, amid the crash of falling houses, the groans of the dying, and the wild shriek of battle, in carrying water to slake the burning thirst of the wounded of either host. While bending over a wounded American soldier, a cannon ball struck her and blew her to atoms! Sir, I do not charge my brave, generous-hearted countrymen who fought that fight with this. No, no! We who send them — we who know that scenes like this, which might send tears of sorrow "down Pluto's iron cheek," are the invariable, inevitable attendants on war — *we* are accountable for this. And this — this is the way we are to be made known to Europe. This — *this* is to be the undying renown of free, republican America! "She has stormed a city — killed many of its inhabitants of both sexes — she has room!" *So* it will read. Sir, if this were our only history, then may God of his mercy grant that its volume may speedily come to a close.

Why is it, sir, that we of the United States, a people of yesterday, compared with the older nations of the world, should be waging war for territory — for "room?" Look at your country, extending from the Allegheny mountains to the Pacific ocean, capable itself of sustaining, in comfort, a larger population than will be in the whole Union for one hundred years to come. Over this vast expanse of territory, your population is now so sparse that I believe we

provided, at the last session, a regiment of mounted men to guard the mail, from the frontier of Missouri to the mouth of the Columbia; and yet you persist in the ridiculous assertion, "I want room." One would imagine, from the frequent reiteration of the complaint, that you had a bursting, teeming population, whose energy was paralyzed, whose enterprise was crushed, for want of space. Why should we be so weak or wicked as to offer this idle apology for ravaging a neighboring republic? It will impose on no one at home or abroad.

Do we not know, Mr. President, that it is a law never to be repealed, that falsehood shall be short-lived? Was it not ordained of old that truth only shall abide forever? Whatever we may say to-day, or whatever we may write in our books, the stern tribunal of history will review it all, detect falsehood, and bring us to judgment before that posterity which shall bless or curse us, as we may act *now*, wisely or otherwise. We may hide in the grave (which awaits us all), in vain; we may hope there, like the foolish bird that hides its head in the sand, in the vain belief that its body is not seen, yet even there, this preposterous excuse of want of "room," shall be laid bare, and the quick-coming future will decide that it was a hypocritical pretense, under which we sought to conceal the avarice, which prompted us to covet and to seize by force that which was not ours.

Mr. President, this uneasy desire to augment our territory has depraved the moral sense, and blunted the otherwise keen sagacity of our people. What has been the fate of all nations who have acted upon the idea that they must advance? Our young orators cherish this notion with a fervid, but fatally mistaken zeal. They call it by the mysterious name of "destiny." "Our destiny," they say, is "onward," and hence they argue, with ready sophistry, the propriety of seizing upon any territory and any people that may lie in the way of our "fated" advance. Recently, these progressives have grown classical; some assiduous student of antiquities has helped them to a patron saint. They have wandered back into the desolated Pantheon, and there, among the Polytheistic relics of that "pale mother of dead empires," they have found a god whom these Romans, centuries gone by, baptized "Terminus."

(Delivered in the House of Representatives, February 11, 1847.)

Foreign Intervention.

By JOHN A. DIX, of New York.
(Born 1798, died 1879.)

SENATORS are doubtless aware that the right of intervention in the affairs of this continent was formally asserted in the French Chamber of Deputies, in the year 1845, by M. Guizot, Minister of Foreign Affairs, as the organ of the Government of France. He regarded the great powers on this continent as divided into three groups, namely: Great Britain, the United States, and the States of Spanish origin; and he declared that it belonged to France "to protect, by the authority of her name, the independence of States, and the equilibrium of the great political forces in America." * * *

Am I in error in supposing this subject derives new importance from our existing relations with Mexico, one of the States of Spanish origin, which M. Guizot grouped together as constituting one of the great political forces of this continent, among which the "equilibrium" was to be maintained? Sir, more than once, in the progress of the war, the governments of Europe have been invoked, by leading organs of public opinion abroad, to interpose between us and Mexico. Is it not, then, appropriate briefly to state what this right of intervention is, as it has been asserted in Europe, what it has been in practice, and what it would be likely to become, if applied to the States of this continent? I trust it will be so considered. * * *

If we look into the writers on international law, I think we shall find no sufficient ground for the right of intervention. Grotius, who wrote in the early part of the seventeenth century, denied its existence. Fenelon, who wrote about half a century later, denied it, except as a means of self-preservation, and then only when the danger was real and imminent. Vattel, who wrote nearly a century after Fenelon, and a century before our own times, regarded the States of Europe as forming a political system, and he restricted the right of entering into confederacies and alliances for the purpose of intervention in the affairs of each other, to cases in which such combinations were necessary to curb the ambition of any power which, from its superiority in physical strength, and its

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designs of oppression or conquest, threatened to become dangerous to its neighbors. De Martens, who wrote half a century ago, acknowledges, with Vattel, the existence of the right under certain conditions, though he hardly admits it to be well settled as a rule of international law; and he limits its exercise to neighboring States, or States occupying the same quarter of the globe. * * *

I am confident, Mr. President, that no one can rise from a review of the history of modern Europe, and from an examination of the writings of her public jurists, without being satisfied that the right of intervention, as recognized by civilized nations, is what I have stated it to be — a mere right, on the part of weaker States, to combine for the purpose of preventing the subversion of their independence, and the alienation of their territories, by a designing and powerful neighbor; a right to be exercised only in cases of urgent and immediate danger. It is simply a right of self-preservation, undefined, undefinable, having no settled or permanent foundation in public law, to be asserted only in extreme necessity, and when arbitrarily applied to practice, a most fruitful source of abuse, injustice, and oppression. One clear and certain limitation it happily possesses — a limitation which, amid all its encroachments upon the independence of sovereign States, has never until our day been overpassed. By universal consent, by the unvarying testimony of abuse itself, it is not to be exercised beyond the immediate sphere of the nations concerned. It pertains rigidly and exclusively to States within the same circle of political action.

It is only by neighbors, for the protection of neighbors against neighbors, that it can, even upon the broadest principles, be rightfully employed. When it traverses oceans, and looks to the regulation of the political concerns of other continents, it becomes a gigantic assumption, which, for the independence of nations, for the interests of humanity, for the tranquillity of the Old World and the New, should be significantly repelled.

Mr. President, a review of the history of Europe during the last two centuries will bring with it another conviction in respect to right of intervention — that no reliance can be placed on its restriction in practice to the objects to which it is limited by every public jurist who admits its existence at all; and that nothing could be so discouraging to the friends of free government as an extension of the system to this continent, if the power existed to introduce it here. * * *

From a mere right to combine for self-preservation, they have made it in practice a right to divide, dismember, and partition States at their pleasure — not for the purpose of diminishing the strength of a powerful adversary — but

under the pretense of creating a system of balances, which is artificial in its structure, and, in some degree, incongruous in its elements, and which a single political convulsion may overturn and destroy. Do we need examples of the abuse of the power, I will not call it a right? They will be found in the dismemberment of Saxony, the annexation of the Republic of Genoa to the Kingdom of Sardinia, and the absorption of Venice by Austria. There is another and a more aggravated case of abuse to which recent events have given new prominence. In 1772, Russia, Prussia and Austria, under the pretense that the disturbed condition of Poland was dangerous to their own tranquillity, seized upon about one-third of her territories, and divided it among themselves. In 1793, notwithstanding her diminished proportions, she had become more dangerous, and they seized half of what they had left to her by the first partition. Sir, she continued to grow dangerous as she grew weak; and in two years after the second partition, they stripped her of all that remained. In 1815, the five great powers, at the Congress of Vienna, from motives of policy, and not from a returning sense of justice, organized the city of Cracow and a portion of the surrounding territory, with a population of about one hundred thousand souls, into a republic, under the protection of Austria, Russia, and Prussia, with a guarantee of its independence in perpetuity. Russia pledged herself, at the same time, to maintain her share of the spoil, as the Kingdom of Poland in name and form, with a constitutional government. She kept her pledge seventeen years, and then virtually incorporated it as an integral part into the Russian Empire. The little Republic of Cracow was all that remained as a monument of the dismembered kingdom. A year ago it was obliterated as an independent State by the three great powers of eastern and northern Europe, in violation of their solemn guarantee, and assigned to Austria. The name of Poland, the fountain of so many noble and animating recollections, is no longer to be found on the map of Europe. The three-quarters of a century which intervened from the inception to the consummation of this transaction are not sufficient to conceal or even to obscure its true character. The very magnitude of the space over which it is spread only serves to bring it out in bolder and darker relief from the pages of history.

If the United States, in the progress of these usurpations, has not remonstrated against them, and contributed by her interposition to maintain the integrity of the States thus disorganized and dismembered in violation of every rule of right, and every suggestion of justice and humanity, it is because we have been faithful, against all movements of sympathy, against the very instincts of nature, to the principle of abstaining from all interference with the movements

of European powers, which relate exclusively to the condition of the quarter of the globe to which they belong. * * *

Mr. President, the declaration of M. Guizot could hardly have been made without the previous approbation of the Government, of which he was the organ. The same sovereign occupies the throne of France — the same Minister stands before it as the exponent of his opinions. Is the declaration to be regarded as a mere idle annunciation in words of a design never intended to be carried into practice? Let me answer the question by the briefest possible reference to circumstances. France was the coadjutor of England in the attempt to induce Texas to decline annexation to the Union. Failing in this, she attempted to accomplish the same object indirectly, by persuading Mexico to recognize the independence of Texas, on condition that the latter should remain an independent State. These terms were offered to Texas, and rejected. In the year 1844, I believe less than twelve months before Mr. Guizot's declaration was made (and the coincidence in point of time is remarkable), a book on Oregon and California was published in Paris by order of the King of France, under the auspices of Marshal Soult, President of the Council, and M. Guizot, Minister of Foreign Affairs, and written by M. de Mofras, who was attached to the French legation in Mexico. The first part of the work is devoted to Mexico, and certainly contains some remarkable passages. He speaks of the establishment of a European monarchy as a project which has been suggested as the only one calculated to put an end to the divisions and annihilate the factions which desolated that beautiful country. He says the Catholic religion and family relations, with the ancient possessors of the country, would be the first conditions required of the princes, who should be called to reconstruct there a monarchical government. He then adds:

"The infantas of Spain, the French princes, and the archdukes of Austria, fulfill these conditions, and we may affirm that, from whichever quarter a competitor should present himself, he would be unanimously welcomed by the Mexican people.

"What, then, are the interests of France in these questions?

"The establishment in Mexico of a monarchy of any description whatever, resting upon a solid basis, should be the first object of our policy; for we know that the instability attached to the actual form of its Government, brings with it disadvantages for our commerce, and inconveniences for our people." * * *

Mr. President, any attempt by a European power to interpose in the affairs of Mexico, either to establish a monarchy, or to maintain, in the language of M. Guizot, "the equilibrium of the great political forces of America," would

be the signal for a war far more important in its consequences, and inscrutable in its issues, than this. We could not submit to such interposition if we would. The public opinion of the country would compel us to resist it. We are committed by the most formal declarations, first made by President Monroe in 1823, and repeated by the present Chief Magistrate of the Union. We have protested, in the most solemn manner, against any further colonization by European powers on this continent. We have protested against any interference in the political concerns of the independent States in this hemisphere. A protest, it is true, does not imply that the ground it assumes is to be maintained at all hazards, and, if necessary, by force of arms. * * *

The declarations of a President having *no* power to make war without a vote of Congress, or even to employ the military force of the country except to defend our own territory, is very different from the protest of a sovereign holding the issues of peace and war in his own hands. But the former may not be less effectual when they are sustained, and I believe those of Presidents Monroe and Polk are, in respect to European interference on the American continent, by an undivided public opinion, even though they may not have received a formal response from Congress. I hold, therefore, if any such interposition as that to which I have referred should take place, resistance on our part would inevitably follow, and we should become involved in controversies, of which no man could foresee the end.

(Being part of a speech delivered in the United States Senate, January 26, 1848.)

The Higher Law.

By WILLIAM HENRY SEWARD, of New York.
(Born 1801, died 1872.)

IT is true, indeed, that the national domain is ours. It is true, it was acquired by the valor and the wealth of the whole nation. But we hold, nevertheless, no arbitrary power over it. We hold no arbitrary power over anything, whether acquired by law, or seized by usurpation. The Constitution regulates our stewardship; the Constitution devotes the domain to union, to justice, to welfare, and to liberty. *But there is a higher law than the Constitution, which regulates our authority over the domain, and devotes it to the same noble purpose.* The territory is a part, no inconsiderable part, of the common heritage of mankind, bestowed upon them by the Creator of the universe. We are his stewards, and must so discharge our trust as to secure, in the highest attainable degree, their happiness. This is a State, and we are deliberating for it, just as our fathers deliberated in establishing the institutions we enjoy. Whatever superiority there is in our condition and hopes, over those of any other "kingdom" or "estate," is due to the fortunate circumstance that our ancestors did not leave things to "take their chances," but that they "added amplitude and greatness" to our Commonwealth "by introducing such ordinances, constitutions, and customs as were wise." We in our turn have succeeded to the same responsibilities, and we cannot approach the duty before us wisely or justly, except we raise ourselves to the great consideration of how we can most certainly "sow greatness to our posterity and successors."

And now the simple, bold, and awful question which presents itself to us is this: Shall we, who are founding institutions, social and political, for countless millions; shall we, who know by experience the wise and just, and are free to choose them, and to reject the erroneous and unjust; shall we establish human bondage, or permit it, by our sufferance, to be established? Sir, our forefathers would not have hesitated an hour. They found slavery existing here, and they left it, only because they could not remove it. There is not only no free State which would now establish it, but there is no slave State which, if it had had the free alternative, as we now have, would have founded slavery.

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Indeed, our Revolutionary predecessors had precisely the same question before them in establishing an organic law, under which the States of Ohio, Michigan, Illinois, Wisconsin, and Iowa have since come into the Union, and they solemnly repudiated and excluded slavery from those States forever.

The Union, the creation of the necessities physical, moral, social, and political, endures by virtue of the same necessities; and these necessities are stronger than when it was produced, by the greater amplitude of territory now covered by it; stronger than the sixfold increase of the society living under its beneficent protection; stronger by the augmentation ten thousand times of the fields, the workshops, the mines, and the ships of that society, of its productions of the sea, of the plow, of the loom, and of the anvil, in their constant circle of internal and international exchanges; stronger in the long rivers penetrating regions before unknown; stronger in all the artificial roads, canals, and other channels and avenues essential, not only to trade, but to defense; stronger in steam navigation, in steam locomotion on the land, and in telegraph communications unknown when the Constitution was adopted; stronger in the freedom and in the growing empire of the seas; stronger in the element of national honor in all lands, and stronger than all in the now settled habits of veneration and affection for institutions so stupendous and useful.

(Being part of a speech delivered in the United States Senate, March 11, 1850.)

Slavery and the Annexation of Cuba.

By JOSHUA R. GIDDINGS, of Ohio.
(Born 1795, died 1864.)

* * * * * * * *

AND here I wish to say to the friends of liberty that our cause is advancing rapidly, and with firmer and surer pace than at any former period. The old political organizations have lost their moral power. The election of the great Western statesman, Thomas H. Benton, in opposition to both the Whig and Democratic parties, shows the tendency of men to think and vote agreeably to the dictates of their own judgment, and not according to caucus dictation, or party rule. He, sir, was unconnected with all parties. He was the exponent of his own views; the people approved his sentiments, and, setting party dictation at defiance, they elected him. Nor was the election of the distinguished philanthropist from New York, Gerritt Smith, less a triumph of independent political thought and action. These distinguished gentlemen were connected with no political parties, but each was elected upon his own merits. * * *

Again, sir, we have enlisted the literati of our country on the side of truth, liberty, and justice. To my fair country women I would say that a lady with her pen has done more for the cause of freedom, during the past year, than any savant, statesman, or politician of our land. That inimitable work, "Uncle Tom's Cabin," is now carrying truth to the minds of millions, who, to this time, have been deaf to the cries of the downtrodden. It is arousing the sensibilities of this country and of Europe. It goes where no other anti-slavery work ever found its way, and quietly carries conviction to the hearts of its readers. It has been dramatized, and, both in this country and in Europe, the playgoing public listen with intense interest to the wrongs, the revolting crimes of slavery. Thus, the theater, that "school of vice," has been subsidized to the promulgation of truth, and the hearts of thousands have been reached, who were approachable in no other way.

The clergy of the North are awakening to duty, to the calls of humanity. No longer are we called to listen to "lower law" sermons, nor are the feelings

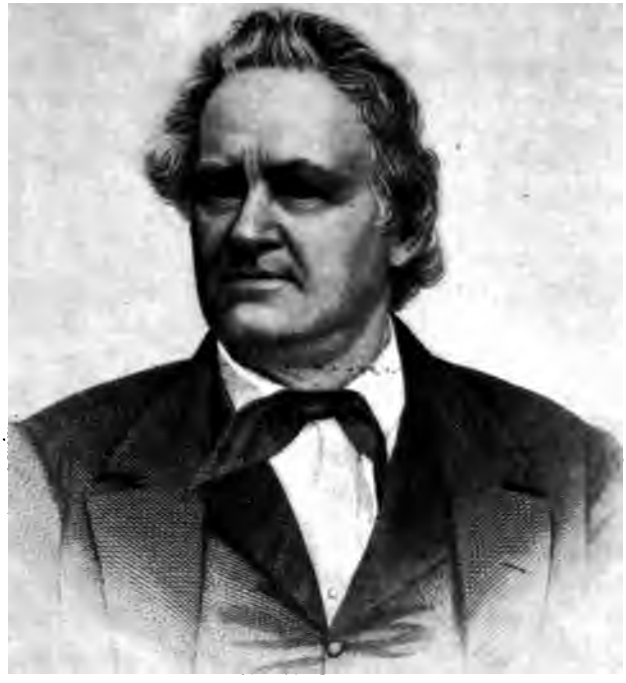
of our Christian communities shocked by reading discourses from doctors of divinity, intended to sanctify and encourage the most transcendent crimes which ever disgraced mankind. Churches and ecclesiastical bodies are beginning to move in behalf of truth, of Christian principles. They are purifying themselves from those who deal in God's image; they are withdrawing church fellowship from those pirates who deserve the gallows and halter, rather than a seat at the communion table of Christian churches.

I have glanced at these facts in answer to those who have spoken before me, and for the encouragement of our friends, in order to assure them that while Whigs and Democrats in this hall are discussing the propriety of protecting "cotton cloth" and "cut nails," the advocates of freedom have not forgotten the duty of protecting the rights of our common humanity.

But, Mr. Chairman, my principal object in rising was to call the attention of this body and of the country to the first of the series of resolutions presented by the honorable chairman of the Committee on Ways and Means (Mr. Houston). It refers to our "foreign relations." The position we hold toward the Governments of Spain, Great Britain, and France is unusually important at this time. The recent publication of the correspondence between our Executive and the Spanish Ministry has excited a deep and pervading interest throughout the country. * * *

This correspondence is highly important. It shows to the country and to the civilized world that for thirty years the Executive has exerted our national influence to maintain slavery in Cuba, in order that the institution may be rendered more secure in the United States. This policy stands out in bold relief; it pervades the whole correspondence, and was also incorporated into the instructions of our commissioners to the Congress of Panama, although those instructions are not embraced in the communication now before us.

Both Whig and Democratic administrations have adopted this policy; and although I have but little time to read extracts from this correspondence, I will give one from the letter of Mr. Webster, Secretary of State, marked "Private and Confidential," to our Consul at Havana, dated January 14, 1843, in which the author refers to reported intentions of British Abolitionists and the British Ministry to aid in the abolition of slavery and in the establishment of an independent government in Cuba. He says: "If this scheme should succeed, the influence of Britain in this quarter, it is remarked, will be unlimited. With six hundred thousand blacks in Cuba, and eight hundred thousand in her West India islands, she will, it is said, strike a blow at the existence of slavery in the United States." These, sir, are the words of a man who opposed all expression, by this Government, of sympathy with oppressed Hungary; who was so strongly



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opposed to all intervention with the affairs of other governments in favor of liberty.

We, sir, hold our own institutions by the right of revolution, which he so severely condemned. He appears to have been shocked at the idea that liberty should be enjoyed in Cuba, and avowed himself willing to prostitute the naval and military power of the United States to uphold a system of oppression in that island which consigns to premature graves one-tenth part of its whole slave population annually — a system by which eighty thousand human victims are said to be sacrificed every year to Spanish barbarity and cupidity. Sir, at this moment the Senate are engaged in eulogizing the statesman who has himself erected this monument to perpetuate his own disgrace. They, sir, are endeavoring to falsify the truth of history; to cover up those stains upon his character which no time can erase, and no effort of friends can purify. * * *

Mr. Chairman, I speak my own opinions. No other man is responsible for what I say. I have given some attention to this subject, and have satisfied my own mind that while the advocates of liberty shall continue their efforts for freedom, their struggles for justice to all men, Cuba will not be annexed. I congratulate the friends of liberty and of humanity upon the important position they have attained. The very efforts which our opponents said would secure the annexation of Cuba have, under the circumstances to which I have referred, prevented the perpetration of that outrage. It is the bold, unflinching agitation and maintenance of truth, by political, moral, and religious efforts, that has saved us from that degradation. Had we, sir, united with the other political parties at the late election; had we then disbanded, there would have been danger of the annexation of Cuba, even at the price of war and bloodshed. But we have attained the position which enables us by our efforts to command the respect of our opponents; and, more especially, as our course commanded the respect of ourselves — of good men — of the lovers of liberty in this country and in Europe, and, as I humbly trust, the approval of God himself. Slavery can only flourish, it can only exist, in the quiet repose of peace. It cannot continue amid the storm of war or the rage of moral elements. All history shows us that slavery cannot exist amidst the agitation of truth. Justice is the great moral antagonist of oppression. They cannot exist together. I indulge the hope that slavery has reached its limits; that it cannot pass beyond its present boundaries, if we remain true to our purpose and our principles. Its proud waves are already stayed. Cuba must remain attached to the Crown of Spain. Yet I would say to British and to French statesmen that if they wish to obtain it for the purpose of establishing liberty there, of giving freedom to its downtrodden people, let them satisfy Spain and take the island. We shall submit for

the very obvious reason that while we hold our own slave population in subjection, we cannot enter into a war with either of those powers in order to maintain that institution in Cuba. We, sir, would rather see Cuba free, under British or French rule, than see our fellow men oppressed, degraded, and ruthlessly murdered, under either Spanish or American authority. But if it remain subject to Spanish laws, its final redemption is not so far distant as we have been accustomed to think. * * *

The world is moving in favor of liberty. Redemption to the African race upon this continent must soon come. I trust it will come in peace; but I will add in the language of our departed coadjutor, John Quincy Adams: "Let it come; if it must come in blood, yet I say, let it come."

(From a speech delivered in the House of Representatives, December 14, 1852.)

Religious Freedom.

By LEWIS CASS, of Michigan.
(Born 1782, died 1866.)

WHAT degree of force —of physical trial, rather — will obscure the moral judgment, is, perhaps, a question of bodily endurance as much as of mental fortitude. Archbishop Hughes, in his highly figurative language, has provided a "fortress to which the conscience can retreat, and from which it can hurl defiance against all invaders." This metaphor will hardly stand the test of critical scrutiny, and is out of place in a grave moral investigation. To carry out the figure, the fortress may be captured by hopes and by fears, by promises and by dangers, and the judgment seat usurped by passion and by prejudice. Occasionally, indeed, there have been wonderful examples of fortitude, of the conquest of the intellectual and moral feelings over physical sufferings, and when the faith and perseverance of the martyrs have overcome the terrible efforts of the tortures, or have put the seal of death upon the principles and professions of life. But these are rare instances of success in the battle of truth; and the moral philosopher, as well as the Christian commentator, who seeks in such extreme cases the general rule of human action, will find his speculations little suited to the world we inhabit. Both reason and faith reprove such assumptions, and no man is morally free when in the face of tortures and punishments, felt or impending. It requires no discussion to satisfy the inquirer after truth that intense suffering may so affect the moral faculties as to blunt their perception, and totally to derange their proper functions. To tell a man he enjoys full moral freedom while coerced by external force, is to mock at the first principles of intellectual action.

But to pass from these speculations to practical inquiry: I desire to ask Archbishop Hughes what object he had in view in this effort to show that the human conscience is always free, whatever may be the external circumstances with which it may be surrounded, and that it is, therefore, absurd to fear its thraldom or to endeavor to guard against it? There is but one assignable reason for the assumption of this postulate, both physical and ethical in its character, and that is, an unwillingness to claim for any government the naked

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right to interfere with, or restrain or destroy the freedom of conscience. I do not believe that Archbishop Hughes would advocate such a doctrine, so understanding it; and certainly to do so would be a bold experiment upon the feelings of this country, which would be sure to be frowned down by public indignation. The difficulty of the position in which the Archbishop was placed resulted, on the one hand, from the opinion entertained by him that human lawmakers have the right to legislate upon questions of religious worship, and on the other from a conviction that freedom of conscience is not within the pale of human authority; and the dilemma caused by these conflicting principles is to be avoided by reducing freedom of conscience to a mere operation of the mind, leaving it in its fortress, but leaving also to the tender mercies of the municipal magistrates the power to control and direct its dictates by all the terrible punishments which persecution has devised and faith endured. The grasp is upon the shadow, while the substance escapes. And the universal sentiment, that he alone is free who is free from violence, rebukes as a *patent absurdity*, originating in a *confusion of ideas*, which the Archbishop kindly undertakes to make clear.

But, after all, the learned writer will find that it required no new Galileo to explore the human intellect, in order to discover and announce that the mind of man is beyond the direct jurisdiction of earthly laws. It is to measure the knowledge of the world by a low standard indeed to suppose that this obvious truth had so long escaped its penetration. In fact, it was as well known on the day of the exodus from Eden as it now is, even with the benefit of the distinguished prelate's labors.

But at best, according to the Archbishop's own showing, this branch of the inquiry degenerates into a verbal disquisition. The world chooses to call the freedom of external action the freedom of conscience, which he considers little better than an absurdity. Be it so; but this leaves the question just where we found it. A change of nomenclature does not change the object, which is to protect the conscience of man from human legislation, by denying to it jurisdiction over those duties which conscience dictates. And this is the very proposition to which Archbishop Hughes finally comes, and fights against most manfully.

He precedes his statement, however, with the declaration, that to assert the existence of any power capable of destroying freedom of conscience is a *patent absurdity*, because "conscience without freedom is not conscience, but for this very reason the freedom of conscience is beyond man's power." Its freedom is beyond the reach of man, not because the faculty is invisible and intangible,

but because it is indestructible and unassailable. As I would not misrepresent, and do not understand this process of reasoning, I must leave it to some other commentator.

The rights of conscience, the liberty of conscience, are, in fact, but synonyms, all expressing the same general sentiment, that every man has the right to follow the dictates of that moral guide, so far as he is not prohibited by law, either divine or human, and that it is the duty of every government to abstain from all interference with this right, unless in cases fairly involving the peace and good order of society. The enjoyment of this freedom, in this sense, has been one of the great objects of wise men in all ages, and is especially so in this, wherever the first notions of liberty have penetrated. But it will be remarked, that this use of the term "freedom" is rather a *jus et norma loquendi* than a strict application of it in its true meaning. Freedom cannot be predicated of a faculty of the mind or body. It belongs to the sentient being. Freedom of speech is the freedom of a man to speak, not the mere command of the vocal organs. Freedom of action, to act. Freedom of conscience, to obey and be governed by the dictates of that great monitor. A man is a free agent, if all his powers and faculties are unrestricted; otherwise he is not free; always excepting, however, proper legal restraints from the class of injurious restrictions.

This somewhat metaphorical application of these terms cannot be made the foundation of a great moral deduction. But Archbishop Hughes has made them so, and maintains that freedom is so essential an attribute of conscience that without it the faculty itself would cease to exist, but that being indestructible, its indestructibility is a proof of its freedom. It is obvious that he is here referring to the free agency of the faculty, and not of the sentient being of whose intellectual powers it forms part; for he will not deny, no one will deny, that the individual himself may be deprived of almost every attribute of free agency.

The Archbishop kindly accounts for, and charitably excuses, my erroneous views on this subject, by the "confusion of ideas" resulting from ignorance of his great moral discovery of the difference between freedom of conscience and freedom of action, in obedience to its dictates. I can accept neither the charge nor the excuse. Though, indeed, my participation in this assumed logical heresy is of no consequence, nor would my conviction of it furnish the least ground, even of self-complacency, for beyond me is the opinion, I may say, of the world, that this priceless freedom is the freedom of action, as well as of opinion, and in conformity with it the sentiment itself is embodied in our Con-

stitutions and State papers, and is embalmed in the hearts of the American people, and it is to be found, as a self-evident truth, even in the school-books which form the minds of our youth. One of the purest of our patriots, one of the wisest and most accomplished of our statesmen, the virtuous Madison, has left his testimony upon record in opposition to this new assumption, in his inaugural address in 1809, in which he enumerates among our fundamental principles the duty of avoiding "the slightest interference with the rights of conscience," not the abstract right of thinking, but the practical right of deciding upon moral convictions, and of acting accordingly. And who that knew James Madison will dare to talk of the confusion of his ideas?

To multiply specific examples of the use and true meaning of this phrase would be a profitless and uncalled-for task, and I shall not undertake it. I shall content myself with four other authorities, all of which have peculiar claims to the consideration of Archbishop Hughes. One is the celebrated jurist Vattel, who, while maintaining, agreeably to the fashion of his age, the right of the sovereign to establish a State religion, and to make that the only one openly professed, earnestly reprobates all attempts to compel men to conform to it by municipal laws, and finally remarks:

"It must, then, be concluded, that liberty of conscience is a natural and inviolable right. It is a disgrace to human nature that a truth of this kind should stand in need of truth."

What is this liberty of conscience, thus inviolable, and the denial of which is so sternly rebuked? Not Archbishop Hughes's power of thinking — for no man in his senses ever denied that; but it is "freedom from compulsion"— these are the words of the author — without which this moral agent, *inviolable* as it should be, is *violated*, "to the disgrace of human nature." * * *

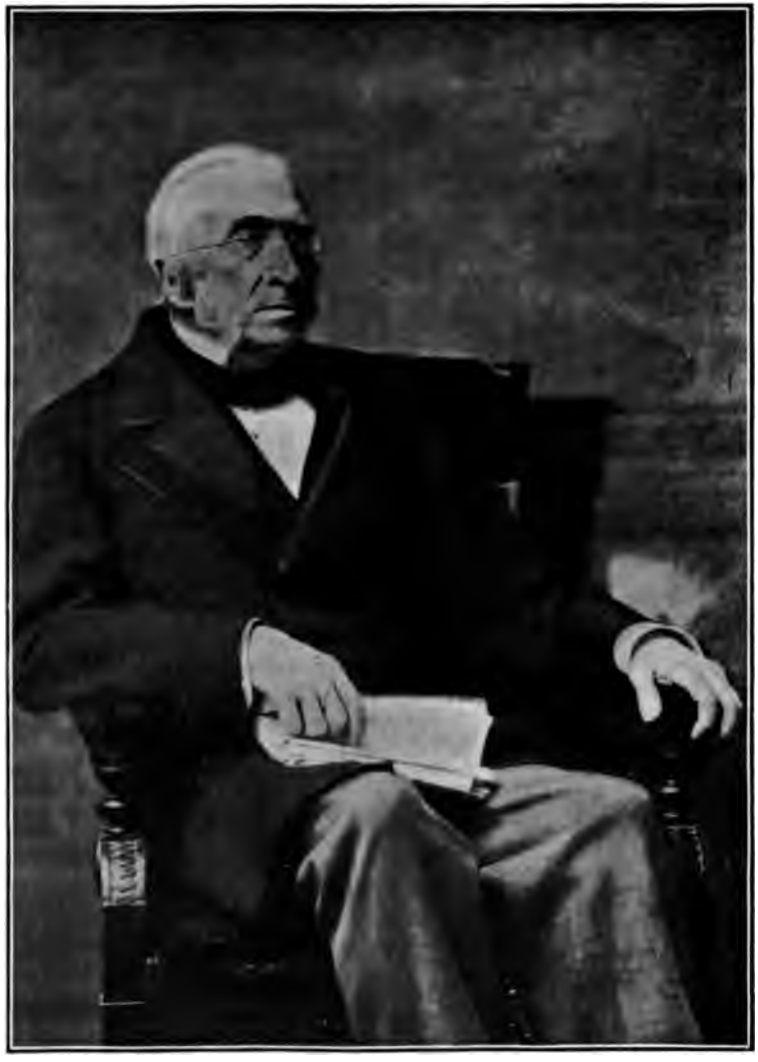
(From a speech delivered in the United States Senate, May 15, 1854.)

The Pilgrim Fathers.

By ROBERT CHARLES WINTHROP, of Massachusetts.
(Born 1809, died 1894.)

WHEN I behold a feeble company of exiles, quitting the strange land to which persecution had forced them to flee; entering with so many sighs and sobs and partings and prayers on a voyage so full of perils at the best, but rendered a hundredfold more perilous by the unusual severities of the season and the absolute unseaworthiness of their ship; arriving in the depth of winter on a coast to which even their pilot was a perfect stranger, and where "they had no friends to welcome them, no inns to entertain them, no houses, much less towns, to repair unto for succor," but where — instead of friends, shelter, or refreshment — famine, exposure, the wolf, the savage, disease, and death, seemed waiting for them; and yet accomplishing an end which royalty and patronage, the love of dominion and of gold, individual adventure and corporate enterprise had so long essayed in vain, and founding a colony which was to defy alike the machinations and the menaces of tyranny, in all periods of its history — it needs not that I should find the coral pathway of the sea laid bare, and its waves a wall on the right hand and on the left, and the crazed chariot-wheels of the oppressor floating in fragments upon its closing floods, to feel, to realize, that higher than human was the power which presided over the exodus of the Pilgrim Fathers!

Was it not something more than the ignorance or the self-will of our earthly and visible pilot, which, instead of conducting them to the spot which they had deliberately selected — the very spot on which we are now assembled, the banks of your own beautiful Hudson, of which they had heard so much during their sojourn in Holland, but which was then swarming with a host of horrible savages — guided them to a coast which, though bleaker and far less hospitable in its outward aspect, had yet, by an extraordinary epidemic, but a short time previous, been almost completely cleared of its barbarous tenants? Was it not something more, also, than mere mortal error or human mistake, which, instead of bringing them within the limits prescribed in the patent they had procured in England, directed them to a shore on which they were to land



ROBERT CHARLES WINTHROP.

upon their own responsibility and under their own authority, and thus compelled them to an act which has rendered Cape Cod more memorable than Runnymede, and the cabin of *The Mayflower* than the proudest hall of ancient charter or modern constitution — the execution of the first written original contract of Democratic Self-Government which is found in the annals of the world.

But the Pilgrims, I have said, had a power within them also. If God was not seen among them in the fire of a Horeb, in the earthquake of a Sinai, or in the wind cleaving asunder the waves of the sea they were to cross, he was with them, at least, in the still, small voice. Conscience, conscience, was the nearest to an earthly power which the Pilgrims possessed, and the freedom of conscience the nearest to an earthly motive which prompted their career. It was conscience which "weaned them from the delicate milk of their mother country, and inured them to the difficulties of a strange land." It was conscience which made them not as other men, whom small things could discourage, or small discontentments cause to wish themselves at home again. It was conscience — that "*robur et aes triplex circapectus*" — which emboldened them to launch their fragile bark upon a merciless ocean, fearless of the fighting winds and lowering storms. It was conscience which stiffened them to brave the perils, endure the hardships, undergo the privations of a howling, houseless, hopeless desolation. And thus, almost in the very age when the Great Master of human nature was putting into the mouth of one of his most interesting and philosophical characters that well-remembered conclusion of a celebrated soliloquy:

> "Thus conscience does make cowards of us all;
> And thus the native hue of resolution
> Is sicklied o'er with the pale cast of thought;
> And enterprises of great pith and moment
> With this regard, their currents turn awry,
> And lose the name of action," —

this very conscience, a clog, and an obstacle, indeed, to its foes, but the surest strength and sharpest spur of its friends, was inspiring a courage, confirming a resolution, and accomplishing an enterprise, to which the records of the world will be searched in vain to find a parallel. Let it never be forgotten that it was conscience, and that not intrenched behind broad seals, but enshrined in brave souls, which carried through and completed the long-baffled undertaking of settling the New England coast.

(Being part of an address before the New England Society in 1839.)

The Kansas-Nebraska Bill.

By STEPHEN ARNOLD DOUGLAS, of Illinois.
(Born 1813, died 1861.)

* * * * * * * *

THE principle which we propose to carry into effect by the bill is this: That *Congress shall neither legislate slavery into any Territories or State, nor out of the same; but the people shall be left free to regulate their domestic concerns in their own way, subject only to the Constitution of the United States.*

In order to carry this principle into practical operation, it becomes necessary to remove whatever legal obstacles might be found in the way of its free exercise. It is only for the purpose of carrying out this great fundamental principle of self-government that the bill renders the eighth section of the Missouri act inoperative and void.

Now, let me ask, will these Senators who have arraigned me, or any one of them, have the assurance to rise in his place and declare that this great principle was never thought of or advocated as applicable to territorial bills, in 1850; that from that session until the present, nobody ever thought of incorporating this principle in all new territorial organizations; that the Committee on Territories did not recommend it in their report; and that it required the amendment of the Senator from Kentucky to bring us up to that point? Will any one of my accusers dare to make this issue, and let it be tried by the record? I will begin with the compromises of 1850. Any Senator who will take the trouble to examine our journals, will find that on the 25th of March of that year I reported from the Committee on Territories two bills including the following measures; the admission of California, a territorial government for New Mexico, and the adjustment of the Texas boundary. These bills proposed to leave the people of Utah and New Mexico free to decide the slavery question for themselves, *in the precise language of the Nebraska bill now under discussion.* A few weeks afterward the Committee of Thirteen took those two bills and put a wafer between them, and reported them back to the Senate as

one bill, with some slight amendments. One of these amendments was, that the territorial legislatures should not legislate upon the subject of African slavery. I objected to that provision upon the ground that it subverted the great principle of self-government upon which the bill had been originally framed by the Territorial Committee. On the first trial, the Senate refused to strike it out, but subsequently did so, after full debate, in order to establish that principle as the rule of action in territorial organizations. * * * But my accusers attempt to raise up a false issue, and thereby divert public attention from the real one, by the cry that the Missouri compromise is to be repealed or violated by the passage of this bill. Well, if the eighth section of the Missouri act, which attempted to fix the destinies of future generations in those Territories for all time to come, in utter disregard of the rights and wishes of the people when they should be received into the Union as States, be inconsistent with the great principles of self-government and the Constitution of the United States, it ought to be abrogated. The legislation of 1850 abrogated the Missouri compromise, so far as the country embraced within the limits of Utah and New Mexico was covered by the slavery restriction. It is true, that those acts did not in terms and by name repeal the act of 1820, as originally adopted, or as extended by the resolutions annexing Texas in 1845, any more than the report of the Committee on Territories proposed to repeal the same acts this session. But the acts of 1850 did authorize the people of those Territories to exercise "all rightful powers of legislation consistent with the Constitution," not excepting the question of slavery; and did provide that, when those Territories should be admitted into the Union, they should be received with or without slavery as the people thereof might determine at the date of their admission. These provisions were in direct conflict with a clause in the former enactment, declaring that slavery should be forever prohibited in any portion of said Territories, and hence rendered such clause inoperative and void to the extent of such conflict. This was an inevitable consequence, resulting from the provisions in those acts, which gave the people the right to decide the slavery question for themselves, in conformity with the Constitution. It was not necessary to go farther and declare that certain previous enactments, which were incompatible with the exercise of the powers conferred in the bills, are hereby repealed. The very act of granting those powers and rights has the legal effect of removing all obstructions to the exercise of them by the people, as prescribed in those territorial bills. Following that example, the Committee on Territories did not consider it necessary to declare the eighth section of the Missouri act repealed. We were content to organize Nebraska in the precise language of the Utah and New Mexican bills. Our object was to leave the people entirely free to form

and regulate their domestic institutions and internal concerns in their own way, under the Constitution; and we deemed it wise to accomplish that object in the exact terms in which the same thing had been done in Utah and New Mexico by the acts of 1850. This was the principle upon which the committee voted; and our bill was supposed, and is now believed, to have been in accordance with it. When doubts were raised whether the bill did fully carry out the principle laid down in the report, amendments were made from time to time, in order to avoid all misconstruction, and make the true intent of the act more explicit. The last of these amendments was adopted yesterday, on the motion of the distinguished Senator from North Carolina (Mr. Badger), in regard to the revival of any laws or regulations which may have existed prior to 1820. That amendment was not intended to change the legal effect of the bill. Its object was to repel the slander which had been propagated by the enemies of the measure in the North — that the Southern supporters of the bill desired to legislate slavery into these Territories. The South denies the right of Congress either to legislate slavery into any Territory or State, or out of any Territory or State. Non-intervention by Congress with slavery in the States or Territories is the doctrine of the bill, and all the amendments which have been agreed to have been made with the view of removing all doubt and cavil as to the true meaning and object of the measure. * * *

Well, sir, what is this Missouri compromise, of which we have heard so much of late? It has been read so often that it is not necessary to occupy the time of the Senate in reading it again. It was an act of Congress, passed on the 6th of March, 1820, to authorize the people of Missouri to form a Constitution and a State Government, preparatory to the admission of such State into the Union. The first section provided that Missouri should be received into the Union " on an equal footing with the original States in all respects whatsoever." The last and eighth section provided that slavery should be " forever prohibited " in all the territory which had been acquired from France north of 36° 30′, and not included within the limits of the State of Missouri. There is nothing in the terms of the law that purports to be a compact, or indicates that it was anything more than an ordinary act of legislation. To prove that it was more than it purports to be on its face, gentlemen must produce other evidence, and prove that there was such an understanding as to create a moral obligation in the nature of a compact. Have they shown it?

Now, if this was a compact, let us see how it was entered into. The bill originated in the House of Representatives, and passed that body without a Southern vote in its favor. It is proper to remark, however, that it did not at that time contain the eighth section, prohibiting slavery in the Territories; but

in lieu of it, contained a provision prohibiting slavery in the proposed State of Missouri. In the Senate, the clause prohibiting slavery in the State was stricken out, and the eighth section added to the end of the bill, by the terms of which slavery was to be forever prohibited in the territory not embraced in the State of Missouri north of 36° 30′. The vote on adding this section stood in the Senate, 34 in the affirmative, and 10 in the negative. Of the Northern Senators, 20 voted for it, and 2 against it. On the question of ordering the bill to a third reading as amended, which was the test vote on its passage, the vote stood 24 yeas and 20 nays. Of the Northern Senators, 4 only voted in the affirmative, and 18 in the negative. Thus it will be seen that if it was intended to be a compact, the North never agreed to it. The Northern Senators voted to insert the prohibition of slavery in the Territories; and then, in the proportion of more than four to one, voted against the passage of the bill. The North, therefore, never signed the compact, never consented to it, never agreed to be bound by it. This fact becomes very important in vindicating the character of the North for repudiating this alleged compromise a few months afterward. The act was approved and became a law on the 6th of March, 1820. In the summer of that year, the people of Missouri formed a Constitution and State Government preparatory to admission into the Union in conformity with the act. At the next session of Congress the Senate passed a joint resolution declaring Missouri to be one of the States of the Union, on an equal footing with the original States. This resolution was sent to the House of Representatives, where it was rejected by Northern votes, and thus Missouri was voted out of the Union, instead of being received into the Union under the act of the 6th of March, 1820, now known as the Missouri compromise. Now, sir, what becomes of our plighted faith, if the act of the 6th of March, 1820, was a solemn compact, as we are now told? They have all rung the changes upon it, that it was a sacred and irrevocable compact, binding in honor, in conscience, and morals, which could not be violated or repudiated without perfidy and dishonor! * * * Sir, if this was a compact, what must be thought of those who violated it almost immediately after it was formed? I say it is a calumny upon the North to say that it was a compact. I should feel a flush of shame upon my cheek, as a Northern man, if I were to say that it was a compact, and that the section of the country to which I belong received the consideration, and then repudiated the obligation in eleven months after it was entered into. I deny that it was a compact, in any sense of the term. But if it was, the record proves that faith was not observed — that the contract was never carried into effect — that after the North had procured the passage of the act prohibiting slavery in the Territories, with a majority in the House large enough to prevent its repeal, Missouri was refused

admission into the Union as a slave-holding State, in conformity with the act of March 6, 1820. If the proposition be correct, as contended for by the opponents of this bill — that there was a solemn compact between the North and South that, in the consideration of the prohibition of slavery in the Territories, Missouri was to be admitted into the Union, in conformity with the act of 1820 — that compact was repudiated by the North, and rescinded by the joint action of the two parties within twelve months from its date. Missouri was never admitted under the act of the 6th of March, 1820. She was refused admission under that act. She was voted out of the Union by Northern votes, notwithstanding the stipulation that she should be received; and, in consequence of these facts, a new compromise was rendered necessary, by the terms of which Missouri was to be admitted into the Union conditionally — admitted on a condition not embraced in the act of 1820, and, in addition, to a full compliance with all the provisions of said act. If, then, the act of 1820, by the eighth section of which slavery was prohibited in Missouri, was a compact, it is clear to the comprehension of every fair-minded man that the refusal of the North to admit Missouri, in compliance with its stipulations, and without further conditions, imposes upon us a high, moral obligation to remove the prohibition of slavery in the Territories, since it has been shown to have been procured upon a condition never performed. * * *

The Declaration of Independence had its origin in the violation of that great fundamental principle which secured to the colonies the right to regulate their own domestic affairs in their own way; and the Revolution resulted in the triumph of that principle, and the recognition of the right asserted by it. Abolitionism proposes to destroy the right and extinguish the principle for which our forefathers waged a seven years' bloody war, and upon which our whole system of free government is founded. They not only deny the application of this principle to the Territories, but insist upon fastening the prohibition upon all the States to be formed out of those Territories. Therefore, the doctrine of the Abolitionists — the doctrine of the opponents of the Nebraska and Kansas bill, and the advocates of the Missouri restriction — demands congressional interference with slavery not only in the Territories, but in all the new States to be formed therefrom. It is the same doctrine, when applied to the Territories and new States of this Union, which the British Government attempted to enforce by the sword upon the American colonies. It is this fundamental principle of self-government which constitutes the distinguishing feature of the Nebraska bill. The opponents of the principle are consistent in opposing the bill. I do not blame them for their opposition. I only ask them to meet the issue fairly and openly, by acknowledging that they are opposed to the principle which

it is the object of the bill to carry into operation. It seems that there is no power on earth, no intellectual power, no mechanical power, that can bring them to a fair discussion of the true issue. If they hope to delude the people and escape detection for any considerable length of time under the catchwords, "Missouri compromise" and "faith of compacts," they will find that the people of this country have more penetration and intelligence than they have given them credit for.

Mr. President, there is an important fact connected with this slavery regulation, which should never be lost sight of. It has always arisen from one and the same cause. Whenever that cause has been removed, the agitation has ceased; and whenever the cause has been renewed, the agitation has sprung into existence. That cause is, and ever has been, the attempt on the part of Congress to interfere with the question of slavery in the Territories and new States formed therefrom. Is it not wise, then, to confine our action within the sphere of our legitimate duties, and leave this vexed question to take care of itself in each State and Territory, according to the wishes of the people thereof, in conformity to the forms, and in subjection to the provisions, of the Constitution?

The opponents of the bill tell us that agitation is no part of their policy; that their great desire is peace and harmony; and they complain bitterly that I should have disturbed the repose of the country by the introduction of this measure! Let me ask these professed friends of peace, and avowed enemies of agitation, how the issue could have been avoided. They tell me that I should have let the question alone; that is, that I should have left Nebraska unorganized, the people unprotected, and the Indian barrier in existence, until the swelling tide of emigration should burst through, and accomplish by violence what it is the part of wisdom and statesmanship to direct and regulate by law. How long could you have postponed action with safety? How long could you maintain that Indian barrier, and restrain the onward march of civilization, Christianity, and free government by a barbarian wall? Do you suppose that you could keep that vast country a howling wilderness in all time to come, roamed over by hostile savages, cutting off all safe communication between our Atlantic and Pacific possessions? I tell you that the time for action has come, and cannot be postponed. It is a case in which the "let-alone" policy would precipitate a crisis which must inevitably result in violence, anarchy, and strife.

You cannot fix bounds to the onward march of this great and growing country. You cannot fetter the limbs of the young giant. He will burst all your chains. He will expand, and grow, and increase, and extend civilization, Christianity, and liberal principles. Then, sir, if you cannot check the growth

of the country in that direction, is it not the part of wisdom to look the danger in the face, and provide for an event which you cannot avoid? I tell you, sir, you must provide for lines of continuous settlement from the Mississippi valley to the Pacific ocean. And in making this provision, you must decide upon what principles the Territories shall be organized; in other words, whether the people shall be allowed to regulate their domestic institutions in their own way, according to the provisions of this bill, or whether the opposite doctrine of congressional interference is to prevail. Postpone it, if you will; but whenever you do act, this question must be met and decided. * * *

There is another reason why I desire to see this principle recognized as a rule of action in all time to come. It will have the effect to destroy all sectional parties and sectional agitations. If, in the language of the report of the committee, you withdraw the slavery question from the halls of Congress and the political arena, and commit it to the arbitrament of those who are immediately interested in and alone responsible for its consequences, there is nothing left out of which sectional parties can be organized. It never was done, and never can be done on the bank, tariff, distribution, or any party issue which has existed, or may exist, after this slavery question is withdrawn from politics. On every other political question these have always supporters and opponents in every portion of the Union — in each State, county, village, and neighborhood — residing together in harmony and good fellowship, and combating each other's opinions and correcting each other's errors in a spirit of kindness and friendship. These differences of opinion between neighbors and friends, and the discussions that grow out of them, and the sympathy which each feels with the advocates of his own opinions in every portion of this widespread Republic, add an overwhelming and irresistible moral weight to the strength of the Confederacy. Affection for the Union can never be alienated or diminished by any other party issues than those which are joined upon sectional or geographical lines. When the people of the North shall all be rallied under one banner, and the whole South marshaled under another banner, and each section excited to frenzy and madness by hostility to the institutions of the other, then the patriot may well tremble for the perpetuity of the Union. Withdraw the slavery question from the political arena, and remove it to the States and Territories, each to decide for itself, such a catastrophe can never happen. Then you will never be able to tell, by any Senator's vote for or against any measure, from what State or section of the Union he comes.

Why, then, can we not withdraw this vexed question from politics? Why can we not adopt the principle of this bill as a rule of action in all new territorial organizations? Why can we not deprive these agitators of their vocation and

render it impossible for Senators to come here upon bargains on the slavery question? I believe that the peace, the harmony, and perpetuity of the Union require us to go back to the doctrines of the Revolution, to the principles of the Constitution, to the principles of the Compromise of 1850, and leave the people, under the Constitution, to do as they may see proper in respect to their own internal affairs. * * *

(Delivered in the United States Senate, March 3, 1854.)

A Plea for Compromise.

By HENRY CLAY, of Kentucky.

(Born 1777, died 1852.)

THE responsibility of this great measure passes from the hands of the committee, and from my hands. They know, and I know, that it is an awful and tremendous responsibility. I hope that you will meet it with a just conception and a true appreciation of its magnitude, and the magnitude of the consequences that may ensue from your decision one way or the other. The alternatives, I fear, which the measure presents, are concord and increased discord; a servile civil war, originating in its causes on the lower Rio Grande, and terminating possibly in its consequences on the upper Rio Grande in the Santa Fe country, or the restoration of harmony and fraternal kindness. I believe, from the bottom of my soul, that the measure is the reunion of this Union. I believe it is the dove of peace, which, taking its aerial flight from the dome of the Capitol, carries the glad tidings of assured peace and restored harmony to all the remotest extremities of this distracted land. I believe that it will be attended with all these beneficent effects. And now let us discard all resentment, all passions, all petty jealousies, all personal desires, all love of place, all hankerings after the gilded crumbs which fall from the table of power. Let us forget popular fears, from whatever quarter they may spring. Let us go to the limpid fountain of unadulterated patriotism, and, performing a solemn lustration, return divested of all selfish, sinister, and sordid impurities, and think alone of our God, our country, our consciences, and our glorious Union — that Union without which we shall be torn into hostile fragments, and sooner or later become the victims of military despotism, or foreign domination.

Mr. President, what is an individual man? An atom, almost invisible without a magnifying glass — a mere speck upon the surface of the immense universe; not a second in time, compared to immeasurable, never-beginning, and never-ending eternity; a drop of water in the great deep, which evaporates and is borne off by the winds; a grain of sand, which is soon gathered to the dust from which it sprung. Shall a being so small, so petty, so fleeting, so evanescent, oppose itself to the onward march of a great nation, which is to subsist for

ages and ages to come; oppose itself to that long line of posterity, which, issuing from our loins, will endure during the existence of the world? Forbid it, God. Let us look to our country and our cause, elevate ourselves to the dignity of pure and disinterested patriots, and save our country from all impending dangers. What if, in the march of this nation to greatness and power, we should be buried beneath the wheels that propel it onward! What are we — what is any man — worth who is not ready and willing to sacrifice himself for the benefit of his country when it is necessary? * * *

If this Union shall become separated, new unions, new confederacies will arise. And with respect to this, if there be any — I hope there is no one in the Senate — before whose imagination is flitting the idea of a great Southern Confederacy to take possession of the Balize and the mouth of the Mississippi, I say in my place, never! never! never! will we who occupy the broad waters of the Mississippi and its upper tributaries consent that any foreign flag shall float at the Balize or upon the turrets of the Crescent City — never! never! I call upon all the South. Sir, we have had hard words, bitter words, bitter thoughts, unpleasant feelings toward each other in the progress of this great measure. Let us forget them. Let us sacrifice these feelings. Let us go to the altar of our country and swear, as the oath was taken of old, that we will stand by her; that we will support her; that we will uphold her Constitution; that we will preserve her Union; that we will pass this great, comprehensive, and healing system of measures, which will hush all the jarring elements, and bring peace and tranquillity to our homes.

(Delivered in the Senate of the United States, July 22, 1850.)

The Crime Against Kansas.

By CHARLES SUMNER, of Massachusetts.
(Born 1811, died 1874.)

MR. PRESIDENT: You are now called to redress a great transgression. Seldom in the history of nations has such a question been presented. Tariffs, army bills, navy bills, land bills are important, and justly occupy your care; but these all belong to the course of ordinary legislation. As means and instruments only, they are necessarily subordinate to the conservation of government itself. Grant them or deny them, in greater or less degree, and you will inflict no shock. The machinery of government will continue to move. The State will not cease to exist. Far otherwise is it with the eminent question now before you, involving, as it does, liberty in a broad territory, and also involving the peace of the whole country, with our good name in history forever more.

Take down your map, sir, and you will find that the Territory of Kansas, more than any other region, occupies the middle spot of North America, equally distant from the Atlantic on the east, and the Pacific on the west; from the frozen waters of Hudson's bay on the north, and the tepid Gulf Stream on the south, constituting the precise territorial center of the whole vast continent. To such advantages of situation, on the very highway between two oceans, are added a soil of unsurpassed richness, and a fascinating, undulating beauty of surface, with a health-giving climate, calculated to nurture a powerful and generous people, worthy to be a central pivot of American institutions. A few short months only have passed since this spacious and mediterranean country was open only to the savage who ran wild in its woods and prairies; and now it has already drawn to its bosom a population of freemen larger than Athens crowded within her historic gates, when her sons, under Miltiades, won liberty for mankind on the field of Marathon; more than Sparta contained when she ruled Greece, and sent forth her devoted children, quickened by a mother's benediction, to return with their shields, or on them; more than Rome gathered on her seven hills, when, under her kings, she commenced that sovereign sway, which afterward embraced the whole earth; more than London held when, on

the fields of Crecy and Agincourt, the English banner was carried victoriously over the chivalrous hosts of France.

Against this Territory, thus fortunate in position and population, a crime has been committed, which is without example in the records of the past. Not in plundered provinces or in the cruelties of selfish Governors will you find its parallel; and yet there is an ancient instance, which may show at least the path of justice. In the terrible impeachment by which the great Roman orator has blasted through all time the name of Verres, amid charges of robbery and sacrilege, the enormity which most aroused the indignant voice of his accuser, and which still stands forth with strongest distinctness, arresting the sympathetic indignation of all who read the story, is, that away in Sicily he had scourged a citizen of Rome — that the cry, "I am a Roman citizen," had been interposed in vain against the lash of the tyrant Governor. Other charges were, that he had carried away productions of art, and that he had violated the sacred shrines. It was in the presence of the Roman Senate that this arraignment proceeded; in a temple of the Forum; amidst crowds — such as no orator had ever before drawn together — thronging the porticoes and colonnades, even clinging to the housetops and neighboring slopes — and under the anxious gaze of witnesses summoned from the scene of crime. But an audience grander far — of higher dignity — of more various people, and of wider intelligence — the countless multitude of succeeding generations, in every land, where eloquence has been studied, or where the Roman name has been recognized — has listened to the accusation, and throbbed with condemnation of the criminal. Sir, speaking in an age of light, and a land of constitutional liberty, where the safeguards of elections are justly placed among the highest triumphs of civilization, I fearlessly assert that the wrongs of much-abused Sicily, thus memorable in history, were small by the side of the wrongs of Kansas, where the very shrines of popular institutions, more sacred than any heathen altar, have been desecrated; where the ballot-box, more precious than any work, in ivory or marble, from the cunning hand of art, has been plundered; and where the cry, "I am an American citizen," has been interposed in vain against outrage of every kind, even upon life itself. Are you against sacrilege? I present it for your execration. Are you against robbery? I hold it up to your scorn. Are you for the protection of American citizens? I show you how their dearest rights have been cloven down, while a tyrannical usurpation has sought to install itself on their very necks!

But the wickedness which I now begin to expose is immeasurably aggravated by the motive which prompted it. Not in any common lust for power did this uncommon tragedy have its origin. It is the rape of a virgin Territory,

CHARLES SUMNER.

compelling it to the hateful embrace of slavery; and it may be clearly traced to a depraved longing for a new slave State, the hideous offspring of such a crime, in the hope of adding to the power of slavery in the National Government. Yes, sir; when the whole world, alike Christian and Turk, is rising up to condemn this wrong, and to make it a hissing to the nations, here in our Republic, *force* — ay, sir, FORCE — has been openly employed in compelling Kansas to this pollution, and all for the sake of political power. There is the simple fact, which you will in vain attempt to deny, but which in itself presents an essential wickedness that makes other public crimes seem like public virtues.

But this enormity, vast beyond comparison, swells to dimensions of wickedness which the imagination toils in vain to grasp, when it is understood that for this purpose are hazarded the horrors of intestine feud not only in this distant Territory, but everywhere throughout the country. Already the muster has begun. The strife is no longer local, but national. Even now, while I speak, portents hang on all the arches of the horizon threatening to darken the broad land, which already yawns with the mutterings of civil war. The fury of the propagandists of slavery, and the calm determination of their opponents, are now diffused from the distant Territory over widespread communities, and the whole country, in all its extent — marshaling hostile divisions, and foreshadowing a strife which, unless happily averted by the triumph of freedom, will become war — fratricidal, parricidal war — with an accumulated wickedness beyond the wickedness of any war in human annals; justly provoking the avenging judgment of Providence and the avenging pen of history, and constituting a strife, in the language of the ancient writer, more than *foreign*, more than *social*, more than *civil;* but something compounded of all these strifes, and in itself more than war; *sed potius commune quoddam ex omnibus, et plus quam bellum.*

Such is the crime which you are to judge. But the criminal also must be dragged into day, that you may see and measure the power by which all this wrong is sustained. From no common source could it proceed. In its perpetration was needed a spirit of vaulting ambition which would hesitate at nothing; a hardihood of purpose which was insensible to the judgment of mankind; a madness for slavery which would disregard the Constitution, the laws, and all the great examples of our history; also a consciousness of power such as comes from the habit of power; a combination of energies found only in a hundred arms directed by a hundred eyes; a control of public opinion through venal pens and a prostituted press; an ability to subsidize crowds in every vocation of life — the politician with his local importance, the lawyer with his subtle tongue, and even the authority of the judge on the bench; and a familiar use of men in places high and low, so that none, from the President to the lowest border

postmaster, should decline to be its tool; all these things and more were needed, and they were found in the slave power of our Republic. There, sir, stands the criminal, all unmasked before you — heartless, grasping, and tyrannical — with an audacity beyond that of Verres, a subtlety beyond that of Machiavel, a meanness beyond that of Bacon, and an ability beyond that of Hastings. Justice to Kansas can be secured only by the prostration of this influence; for this the power behind — greater than any President — which succors and sustains the crime. Nay, the proceedings I now arraign derive their fearful consequences only from this connection.

In now opening this great matter, I am not insensible to the austere demands of the occasion; but the dependence of the crime against Kansas upon the slave power is so peculiar and important that I trust to be pardoned while I impress it with an illustration, which to some may seem trivial. It is related in Northern mythology that the god of Force, visiting an enchanted region, was challenged by his royal entertainer to what seemed an humble feat of strength — merely, sir, to lift a cat from the ground. The god smiled at the challenge, and, calmly placing his hand under the belly of the animal, with superhuman strength strove, while the back of the feline monster arched far upward, even beyond reach, and one paw actually forsook the earth, until at last the discomfited divinity desisted; but he was little surprised at his defeat when he learned that this creature, which seemed to be a cat, and nothing more, was not merely a cat, but that it belonged to and was a part of the great terrestrial serpent, which, in its innumerable folds, encircled the whole globe. Even so the creature, whose paws are now fastened upon Kansas, whatever it may seem to be, constitutes in reality a part of the slave power, which, in its loathsome folds, is now coiled about the whole land. Thus do I expose the extent of the present contest, where we encounter not merely local resistance, but also the unconquered sustaining arm behind. But out of the vastness of the crime attempted, with all its woe and shame, I derive a well-founded assurance of a commensurate vastness of effort against it by the aroused masses of the country, determined not only to vindicate right against wrong, but to redeem the Republic from the thraldom of that oligarchy which prompts, directs, and concentrates the distant wrong. * * *

But, before entering upon the argument, I must say something of a general character, particularly in response to what has fallen from Senators who have raised themselves to eminence on this floor in championship of human wrongs. I mean the Senator from South Carolina (Mr. Butler), and the Senator from Illinois (Mr. Douglas), who, though unlike as Don Quixote and Sancho Panza, yet, like this couple, sally forth together in the same adventure. I regret much

to miss the elder Senator from his seat; but the cause, against which he has run a tilt, with such activity of animosity, demands that the opportunity of exposing him should not be lost; and it is for the cause that I speak. The Senator from South Carolina has read many books of chivalry, and believes himself a chivalrous knight, with sentiments of honor and courage. Of course he has chosen a mistress to whom he has made his vows, and who, though ugly to others, is always lovely to him; though polluted in the sight of the world, is chaste in his sight — I mean the harlot, Slavery. For her, his tongue is always profuse in words. Let her be impeached in character, or any proposition made to shut her out from the extension of her wantonness, and no extravagance of manner or hardihood of assertion is then too great for this Senator. The frenzy of Don Quixote, in behalf of his wench, Dulcinea del Toboso, is all surpassed. The asserted rights of slavery, which shock equality of all kinds, are cloaked by a fantastic claim of equality. If the slave States cannot enjoy what, in mockery of the great fathers of the Republic, he misnames equality under the Constitution — in other words, the full power in the national territories to compel fellow-men to unpaid toil, to separate husband and wife, and to sell little children at the auction block — then, sir, the chivalric Senator will conduct the State of South Carolina out of the Union! Heroic knight! Exalted Senator! A second Moses come for a second exodus!

But not content with this poor menace, which we have been twice told was "measured," the Senator in the unrestrained chivalry of his nature, has undertaken to apply opprobrious words to those who differ from him on this floor. He calls them "sectional and fanatical;" and opposition to the usurpation in Kansas he denounces as "an uncalculating fanaticism." To be sure these charges lack all grace of originality, and all sentiment of truth; but the adventurous Senator does not hesitate. He is the uncompromising, unblushing representative on this floor of a flagrant *sectionalism*, which now domineers over the Republic, and yet with a ludicrous ignorance of his own position — unable to see himself as others see him — or with an affrontery which even his white head ought not to protect from rebuke, he applies to those here who resist his *sectionalism* the very epithet which designates himself. The men who strive to bring back the Government to its original policy, when freedom and not slavery was sectional, he arraigns as *sectional*. This will not do. It involves too great a perversion of terms. I tell that Senator that it is to himself, and to the "organization" of which he is the "committed advocate," that this epithet belongs. I now fasten it upon them. For myself, I care little for names; but since the question has been raised here, I affirm that the Republican party of the Union

is in no just sense *sectional*, but, more than any other party, *national;* and that it now goes forth to dislodge from the high places of the Government the tyrannical sectionalism of which the Senator from South Carolina is one of the maddest zealots. * * *

As the Senator from South Carolina is the Don Quixote, the Senator from Illinois (Mr. Douglas) is the squire of slavery, its very Sancho Panza, ready to do all its humiliating offices. This Senator, in his labored address, vindicating his labored report — piling one mass of elaborate error upon another mass — constrained himself, as you will remember, to unfamiliar decencies of speech. Of that address I have nothing to say at this moment, though before I sit down I shall show something of its fallacies. But I go back now to an earlier occasion, when, true to his native impulses, he threw into this discussion, "for a charm of powerful trouble," personalities most discreditable to this body. I will not stop to repel the imputations which he cast upon myself; but I mention them to remind you of the "sweltered venom sleeping got," which, with other poisoned ingredients, he cast into the caldron of this debate. Of other things I speak. Standing on this floor, the Senator issued his rescript, requiring submission to the usurped power of Kansas; and this was accompanied by a manner — all his own — such as befits the tyrannical threat. Very well. Let the Senator try. I tell him now that he cannot enforce any such submission. The Senator, with the slave power at his back, is strong; but he is not strong enough for this purpose. He is bold. He shrinks from nothing. Like Danton, he may cry, "*l'audace! l'audace! toujours l'audace!*" but even his audacity cannot compass this work. The Senator copies the British officer who, with boastful swagger, said that with the hilt of his sword he would cram the "stamps" down the throats of the American people, and he will meet with a similar failure. He may convulse this country with a civil feud. Like the ancient madman, he may set fire to this temple of constitutional liberty, grander than the Ephesian dome; but he cannot enforce obedience to that tyrannical usurpation.

The Senator dreams that he can subdue the North. He disclaims the open threat, but his conduct still implies it. How little that Senator knows himself or the strength of the cause which he persecutes! He is but a mortal man; against him is an immortal principle. With finite power he wrestles with the infinite, and he must fall. Against him are stronger battalions than any marshaled by mortal arm — the inborn, ineradicable, invincible sentiments of the human heart; against him is nature in all her subtle forces; against him is God. Let him try to subdue these. * * *

With regret, I come again upon the Senator from South Carolina (Mr. Butler), who, omnipresent in this debate, overflowed with rage at the simple

suggestion that Kansas had applied for admission as a State; and, with incoherent phrases, discharged the loose expectoration of his speech, now upon her representative, and then upon her people. There was no extravagance of the ancient parliamentary debate, which he did not repeat; nor was there any possible deviation from truth which he did not make, with so much of passion, I am glad to add, as to save him from the suspicion of intentional aberration. But the Senator touches nothing which he does not disfigure — with error, sometimes of principle, sometimes of fact. He shows an incapacity of accuracy, whether in stating the Constitution, or in stating the law, whether in the details of statistics or the diversions of scholarship. He cannot ope his mouth, but out there flies a blunder. Surely he ought to be familiar with the life of Franklin; and yet he referred to this household character, while acting as agent of our fathers in England, as above suspicion; and this was done that he might give point to a false contrast with the agent of Kansas — not knowing that, however they may differ in genius and fame, in this experience they are alike: that Franklin when intrusted with the petition of Massachusetts Bay, was assaulted by a foul-mouthed speaker, where he could not be heard in defense, and denounced as a "thief," even as the agent of Kansas has been assaulted on this floor, and denounced as a "forger." And let not the vanity of the Senator be inspired by the parallel with the British statesman of that day; for it is only in hostility to freedom that any parallel can be recognized.

But it is against the people of Kansas that the sensibilities of the Senator are particularly aroused. Coming, as he announces, "from a State" — aye, sir, from South Carolina — he turns with lordly disgust from this newly-formed community, which he will not recognize even as a "body politic." Pray, sir, by what title does he indulge in this egotism? Has he read the history of "the State" which he represents? He cannot surely have forgotten its shameful imbecility from slavery, confessed throughout the Revolution, followed by its more shameful assumptions for slavery since. He cannot have forgotten its wretched persistence in the slave-trade as the very apple of its eye, and the condition of its participation in the Union. He cannot have forgotten its Constitution, which is Republican only in name, confirming power in the hands of the few, and founding the qualifications of its legislators on "a settled freehold estate and ten negroes." And yet the Senator, to whom that "State" has in part committed the guardianship of its good name, instead of moving, with backward treading steps, to cover its nakedness, rushes forward in the very ecstasy of madness, to expose it by provoking a comparison with Kansas. South Carolina is old; Kansas is young. South Carolina counts by centuries; where Kansas counts by years. But a beneficent example may be born in a day; and

I venture to say, that against the two centuries of the older "State," may be already set the two years of trial, evolving corresponding virtue, in the younger community. In the one, is the long wail of slavery; in the other, the hymns of freedom. And if we glance at special achievements, it will be difficult to find anything in the history of South Carolina which presents so much of heroic spirit in an heroic cause as appears in that repulse of the Missouri invaders by the beleaguered town of Lawrence, where even the women gave their effective efforts to freedom. * * *

Already, in Lawrence alone, there are newspapers and schools, including a high school, and throughout this infant Territory there is more mature scholarship far, in proportion to its inhabitants, than in all South Carolina. Ah, sir, I tell the Senator that Kansas, welcomed as a free State, will be a "ministering angel" to the Republic, when South Carolina, in the cloak of darkness which she hugs, "lies howling." * * *

To overthrow this usurpation is now the special, importunate duty of Congress, admitting of no hesitation or postponement. To this end it must lift itself from the cabals of candidates, the machinations of party, and the low level of vulgar strife. It must turn from that slave oligarchy which now controls the Republic, and refuse to be its tool. Let its power be stretched forth toward this distant Territory, not to bind, but to unbind; not for the oppression of the weak, but for the subversion of the tyrannical; not for the prop and maintenance of a revolting Usurpation, but for the confirmation of Liberty. * * *

(Delivered in the United States Senate, May 19-20, 1856.)

The Assault Upon Sumner.

By PRESTON S. BROOKS, of South Carolina.
(Born 1819, died 1857.)

MR. SPEAKER: Some time since a Senator from Massachusetts allowed himself, in an elaborately prepared speech, to offer a gross insult to my State, and to a venerable friend, who is my State representative, and who was absent at the time.

Not content with that, he published to the world, and circulated extensively, this uncalled-for libel on my State and my blood. Whatever insults my State insults me. Her history and character have commanded my pious veneration; and in her defense I hope I shall always be prepared, humbly and modestly, to perform the duty of a son. I should have forfeited my own self-respect, and perhaps the good opinion of my countrymen, if I had failed to resent such an injury by calling the offender in question to a personal account. It was a personal affair, and in taking redress into my own hands I meant no disrespect to the Senate of the United States or to this House. Neither did I design insult or disrespect to the State of Massachusetts. I was aware of the personal responsibilities I incurred, and was willing to meet them. I knew, too, that I was amenable to the laws of the country, which afford the same protection to all, whether they be members of Congress or private citizens. I did not, and do not now believe, that I could be properly punished, not only in a court of law, but here also, at the pleasure and discretion of the House. I did not then, and do not now, believe that the spirit of American freemen would tolerate slander in high places, and permit a member of Congress to publish and circulate a libel on another, and then call upon either House to protect him against the personal responsibilities which he had thus incurred.

But if I had committed a breach of privilege, it was the privilege of the Senate, and not of this House, which was violated. I was answerable *there*, and not *here*. They had no right, as it seems to me, to prosecute me in these

halls, nor have you the right in law or under the Constitution, as I respectfully submit, to take jurisdiction over offenses committed against them. The Constitution does not justify them in making such a request, nor this House in granting it. If, unhappily, the day should ever come when sectional or party feeling should run so high as to control all other considerations of public duty or justice, how easy it will be to use such precedents for the excuse of arbitrary power, in either House, to expel members of the minority who may have rendered themselves obnoxious to the prevailing spirit in the House to which they belong.

Matters may go smoothly enough when one House asks the other to punish a member who is offensive to a majority of its own body; but how will it be when, upon a pretense of insulted dignity, *demands* are made of this House to expel a member who happens to run counter to its party predilections, or other demands which it may not be so agreeable to grant? It could never have been designed by the Constitution of the United States to expose the two Houses to such temptations to collision, or to extend so far the discretionary power which was given to either House to punish its own members for the violation of its rules and orders. Discretion has been said to be the law of the tyrant, and when exercised under the color of the law, and under the influence of party dictation, it may and will become a terrible and insufferable despotism.

This House, however, it would seem, from the unmistakable tendency of its proceedings, takes a different view from that which I deliberately entertain in common with many others.

So far as public interests or constitutional rights are involved, I have now exhausted my means of defense. I may, then, be allowed to take a more personal view of the question at issue. The further prosecution of this subject, in the shape it has now assumed, may not only involve my friends, but the House itself, in agitations which might be unhappy in their consequences to the country. If these consequences could be confined to myself individually, I think I am prepared and ready to meet them, here or elsewhere; and when I use this language I mean what I say. But others must not suffer for me. I have felt more on account of my two friends who have been implicated, than for myself, for they have proven that "there is a friend that sticketh closer than a brother." I will not constrain gentlemen to assume a responsibility on my account, which possibly they would not run on their own.

Sir, I cannot, on *my own account*, assume the responsibility, in the face of the American people, of commencing a line of conduct which in my heart of

hearts I believe would result in subverting the foundations of this Government, and in drenching this hall in blood. No act of mine, on my personal account, shall inaugurate revolution; but when you, Mr. Speaker, return to your own home, and hear the people of the great North — and they are a great people — speak of me as a bad man, you will do me the justice to say that a blow struck by me at this time would be followed by revolution, and this I know. (Applause and hisses in the gallery.)

Mr. Brooks (resuming):— If I desired to kill the Senator, why did not I do it? You all admit that I had him in my power. Let me tell the member from New Jersey that it was expressly to avoid taking life that I used an ordinary cane, presented to me by a friend in Baltimore, nearly three months before its application to the "bare head" of the Massachusetts Senator. I went to work very deliberately, as I am charged — and this is admitted,— and speculated somewhat as to whether I should employ a horsewhip or a cowhide; but knowing that the Senator was my superior in strength, it occurred to me that he might wrest it from my hand, and then — for I never attempt anything I do not perform — I might have been compelled to do that which I would have regretted the balance of my natural life.

The question has been asked in certain newspapers, why I did not invite the Senator to personal combat in the mode usually adopted. Well, sir, as I desire the whole truth to be known about the matter, I will for once notice a newspaper article on the floor of the House, and answer here.

My answer is, that the Senator would not accept a message; and having formed the unalterable determination to punish him, I believe that the offense of "sending a hostile message," superadded to the indictment for assault and battery, would subject me to legal penalties more severe than would be imposed for a simple assault and battery. That is my answer.

Now, Mr. Speaker, I have nearly finished what I intended to say. If my opponents, who have pursued me with unparalleled bitterness, are satisfied with the present condition of this affair, I am. I return my thanks to my friends, and especially to those who are from non-slave-owning States, who have magnanimously sustained me, and felt that it was a higher honor to themselves to be just in their judgment of a gentleman than to be a member of Congress for life. In taking my leave, I feel that it is proper that I should say that I believe that some of the votes that have been cast against me have been extorted by an outside pressure at home, and that their votes do not express the feelings or opinions of the members who gave them.

To such of these as have given their votes and made their speeches on the constitutional principles involved, and without indulging in personal vilification, I owe my respect. But, sir, they have written me down upon the history of the country as worthy of expulsion, and in no unkindness I must tell them that for all future time my self-respect requires that I shall pass them as strangers.

And now, Mr. Speaker, I announce to you and to this House, that I am no longer a member of the Thirty-Fourth Congress.

(Mr. Brooks then walked out of the House of Representatives.)

(Being a speech in the House of Representatives, July 14, 1856, in defense of cowardly conduct.)

Massachusetts and the Sumner Assault.

By ANSON BURLINGAME, of New York.

(Born 1820, died 1870.)

N the 19th of May, it was announced that Mr. Sumner would address the Senate upon the Kansas question. The floor of the Senate, the galleries, and avenues leading thereto, were thronged with an expectant audience, and many of us left our places in this House to hear the Massachusetts orator. To say that we were delighted with the speech we heard would but faintly express the deep emotions of our hearts awakened by it. I need not speak of the classic purity of its language, nor of the nobility of its sentiments. It was heard by many; it has been read by millions. There has been no such speech made in the Senate since the days when those Titans of American eloquence — the Websters and the Haynes — contended with each other for mastery.

It was severe, because it was launched against tyranny. It was severe, as Chatham was severe when he defended the feeble colonies against the giant oppression of the mother country. It was made in the face of a hostile Senate. It continued through the greater portion of two days; and yet, during that time, the speaker was not once called to order. This fact is conclusive as to the personal and parliamentary decorum of the speech. He had provocation enough. His State had been called hypocritical. He himself had been called "a puppy," "a fool," "a fanatic," and "a dishonest man." Yet he was parliamentary from the beginning to the end of his speech. No man knew better than he did the proprieties of the place, for he had always observed them. * * *

On the 22d day of May, when the Senate and the House had clothed themselves in mourning for a brother fallen in the battle of life in the distant State of Missouri, the Senator from Massachusetts sat in the silence of the Senate Chamber, engaged in the employments pertaining to his office, when a member of this House, who had taken an oath to sustain the Constitution, stole into the Senate, that place which had hitherto been held sacred against violence, and smote him as Cain smote his brother.

Mr. KEITT (in his seat).— That is false.

Mr. BURLINGAME.— I will not bandy epithets with the gentleman. I am responsible for my own language. Doubtless he is responsible for his.

ANSON BURLINGAME.

Mr. KEITT.— I am.

Mr. BURLINGAME.— I shall stand by mine. One blow was enough; but it did not satiate the wrath of that spirit which had pursued him through two days. Again and again, quicker and faster fell the leaden blows, until he was torn away from his victim, when the Senator from Massachusetts fell in the arms of his friends, and his blood ran down on the Senate floor. Sir, the act was brief, and my comments on it shall be brief also. I denounce it in the name of the Constitution it violated. I denounce it in the name of the sovereignty of Massachusetts, which was stricken down by the blow. I denounce it in the name of humanity. I denounce it in the name of civilization which it outraged. I denounce it in the name of that fair play which bullies and prize fighters respect. What! strike a man when he is pinioned — when he cannot respond to a blow? Call you that chivalry? In what code of honor did you get your authority for that? I do not believe that member has a friend so dear who must not in his heart of hearts condemn the act. Even the member himself, if he has left a spark of that chivalry and gallantry attributed to him, must loathe and scorn the act. God knows I do not wish to speak unkindly, or in a spirit of revenge; but I owe it to my manhood and the noble State I, in part, represent, to express my abhorrence of the act. But much as I reprobate the act, much more do I reprobate the conduct of those who were by and saw the outrage perpetrated. Sir, especially do I notice the conduct of that Senator recently from the free platform of Massachusetts, with the odor of her hospitality on him, who stood there, not only silent and quiet while it was going on, but, when it was over, approved the act. And worse; when he had time to cool, when he had slept on it, he went into the Senate Chamber of the United States, and shocked the sensibilities of the world by approving it. Another Senator did not take part because he feared that his motives might be questioned, exhibiting as extraordinary a delicacy as that individual who refused to rescue a drowning mortal because he had not been introduced to him. Another was not on good terms, and yet, if rumor be true, that Senator has declared that himself and family are more indebted to Mr. Sumner than to any other man; yet, when he saw him borne bleeding by, he turned and went on the other side. Oh, magnanimous Slidell! Oh, prudent Douglas! Oh, audacious Toombs!

Sir, there are questions arising out of this which far transcend those of a mere personal nature. Of those personal considerations I shall speak, when the question comes properly before us, if I am permitted to do so. The higher question involves the very existence of the Government itself. If, sir, freedom of speech is not to remain to us, what is all this Government worth? If we from Massachusetts, or any other State — Senators, or members of the House —

are to be called to account by some "gallant nephew" of some "gallant uncle," when we utter something which does not suit their sensitive natures, we desire to know it. If the conflict is to be transferred from this peaceful, intellectual field to one where, it is said, "honors are easy and responsibilities equal," then we desire to know it. Massachusetts, if her sons and representatives are to have the rod held over them, if these things are to continue, the time may come — though she utters no threats — when she may be called upon to withdraw them to her own bosom, where she can furnish to them that protection which is not vouchsafed to them under the flag of their common country. But, while she permits us to remain, we shall do our duty,— our whole duty. We shall speak whatever we choose to speak, when we will, where we will, and how we will, regardless of all consequences.

Sirs, the sons of Massachusetts are educated at the knees of their mothers, in the doctrines of peace and good-will, and, God knows, they desire to cultivate those feelings,— feelings of social kindness and public kindness. The House will bear witness that we have not violated or trespassed upon any of them; but, sir, if we are pushed too long and too far, there are men from the old commonwealth of Massachusetts who will not shrink from a defense of freedom of speech, and the honored State they represent, on any field where they may be assailed.

(From a speech delivered in the House of Representatives, June 21, 1856.)

The Irrepressible Conflict.

By WILLIAM H. SEWARD, of New York.
(Born 1801, died 1872.)

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OUR country is a theater, which exhibits, in full operation, two radically different political systems; the one resting on the basis of servile or slave labor, the other on voluntary labor of freemen. The laborers who are enslaved are all negroes, or persons more or less purely of African derivation. But this is only accidental. The principle of the system is, that labor in every society, by whomsoever performed, is necessarily unintellectual, groveling, and base; and that the laborer, equally for his own good and for the welfare of the State, ought to be enslaved. The white laboring man, whether native or foreigner, is not enslaved, only because he cannot, as yet, be reduced to bondage.

You need not be told now that the slave system is the older of the two, and that once it was universal. The emancipation of our own ancestors, Caucasians and Europeans as they were, hardly dates beyond a period of five hundred years. The great melioration of human society, which modern times exhibit, is mainly due to the incomplete substitution of the system of voluntary labor for the one of servile labor, which has already taken place. The African-slave system is one which, in its origin and in its growth, has been altogether foreign from the habits of the races which colonized these States, and established civilization here. It was introduced on this continent as an engine of conquest, and for the establishment of monarchical power, by the Portuguese and the Spaniards; and was rapidly extended by them all over South America, Central America, Louisiana, and Mexico. Its legitimate fruits are seen in the poverty, imbecility, and anarchy which now pervade all Portuguese and Spanish America. The free-labor system is of German extraction, and it was established in our country by emigrants from Sweden, Holland, Germany, Great Britain, and Ireland. We justly ascribe to its influences the strength, wealth, greatness, intelligence, and freedom, which the whole American people now enjoy. One of the chief elements

of the value of human life is freedom in the pursuit of happiness. The slave system is not only intolerable, unjust, and inhuman toward the laborer, whom, only because he is a laborer, it loads down with chains and converts into merchandise; but is scarcely less severe upon the freeman, to whom, only because he is a laborer from necessity, it denies facilities for employment, and whom it expels from the community because it cannot enslave and convert into merchandise also. It is necessarily improvident and ruinous, because, as a general truth, communities prosper and flourish, or droop and decline, in just the degree that they practice or neglect to practice the primary duties of justice and humanity. The free-labor system conforms to the divine law of equality, which is written in the hearts and consciences of man, and, therefore, is always and everywhere beneficent.

The slave system is one of constant danger, distrust, suspicion, and watchfulness. It debases those whose toil alone can produce wealth and resources for defense, to the lowest degree of which human nature is capable, to guard against mutiny and insurrection; and thus wastes energies which otherwise might be employed in national development and aggrandizement.

The free-labor system educates all alike, and, by opening all the fields of industrial employment and all the departments of authority to the unchecked and equal rivalry of all classes of men, at once secures universal contentment, and brings into the highest possible activity all the physical, moral, and social energies of the whole State. * * *

Hitherto, the two systems have existed in different States, but side by side within the American Union. This has happened because the Union is a confederation of States. But in another aspect the United States constitute only one nation. Increase of population, which is filling the States out to their very borders, together with a new and extended net-work of railroads and other avenues, and an internal commerce which daily becomes more intimate, is rapidly bringing the States into a higher and more perfect social unity or consolidation. Thus, these antagonistic systems are continually coming into closer contact, and collision results.

Shall I tell you what this collision means? They who think that it is accidental, unnecessary, the work of interested or fanatical agitators, and, therefore, ephemeral, mistake the case altogether. It is an irrepressible conflict between opposing and enduring forces, and it means that the United States must and will, sooner or later, become either entirely a slave-holding nation, or entirely a free-labor nation. Either the cotton and rice fields of South Carolina and the sugar plantations of Louisiana will ultimately be tilled by free labor, and Charleston and New Orleans become marts of legitimate merchandise alone; or else

the rye-fields and wheat-fields of Massachusetts and New York must again be surrendered by their farmers to slave culture and to the production of slaves, and Boston and New York become once more markets for trade in the bodies and souls of men. It is the failure to apprehend this great truth that induces so many unsuccessful attempts at final compromises between the slave and free States, and it is the existence of this great fact that renders all such pretended compromises, when made, vain and ephemeral. Startling as this saying may appear to you, fellow citizens, it is by no means an original or even a modern one. Our forefathers knew it to be true, and unanimously acted upon it when they framed the Constitution of the United States. They regarded the existence of the servile system in so many of the States with sorrow and shame, which they openly confessed, and they looked upon the collision between them, which was then just revealing itself, and which we are now accustomed to deplore, with favor and hope. They knew that one or the other system must exclusively prevail.

Unlike too many of those who in modern time invoke their authority, they had a choice between the two. They preferred the system of free labor, and they determined to organize the Government, and so direct its activity, that that system should surely and certainly prevail. For this purpose, and no other, they based the whole structure of the Government broadly on the principle that all men are created equal, and, therefore, free — little dreaming that, within the short period of one hundred years, their descendants would bear to be told by any orator, however popular, that the utterance of that principle was merely a rhetorical rhapsody; or by any judge, however venerated, that it was attended by mental reservation, which rendered it hypocritical and false. By the ordinance of 1787, they dedicated all of the national domain, not yet polluted by slavery, to free labor immediately, thenceforth and forever; while by the new Constitution and laws they invited foreign free labor from all lands under the sun, and interdicted the importation of African-slave labor, at all times, in all places, and under all circumstances whatsoever. It is true that they necessarily and wisely modified this policy of freedom by leaving it to the several States, affected as they were by different circumstances, to abolish slavery in their own way and at their own pleasure, instead of confiding that duty to Congress; and that they secured to the slave States, while yet retaining the system of slavery, a three-fifths representation of slaves in the Federal Government, until they should find themselves able to relinquish it with safety. But the very nature of these modifications fortifies my position, that the fathers knew that the two systems could not endure within the Union, and expected within a short period slavery would disappear forever. Moreover, in order that these modifications

might not altogether defeat their grand design of a republic maintaining universal equality, they provided that two-thirds of the States might amend the Constitution.

It remains to say on this point only one word, to guard against misapprehension. If these States are to again become universally slave-holding, I do not pretend to say with what violations of the Constitution that end shall be accomplished. On the other hand, while I do confidently believe and hope that my country will yet become a land of universal freedom, I do not expect that it will be made so otherwise than through the action of the several States co-operating with the Federal Government, and all acting in strict conformity with their respective Constitutions.

The strife and contentions concerning slavery, which gently-disposed persons so habitually deprecate, are nothing more than the ripening of the conflict which the fathers themselves not only thus regarded with favor, but which they may be said to have instituted.

* * * I know — few, I think, know better than I — the resources and energies of the Democratic party, which is identical with the slave power. I do ample justice to its traditional popularity. I know further — few, I think, know better than I — the difficulties and disadvantages of organizing a new political force, like the Republican party, and the obstacles it must encounter in laboring without prestige and without patronage. But, understanding all this, I know that the Democratic party must go down, and that the Republican party must rise into its place. The Democratic party derived its strength, originally, from its adoption of the principles of equal and exact justice to all men. So long as it practised this principle faithfully, it was invulnerable. It became vulnerable when it renounced the principle; and since that time it has maintained itself, not by virtue of its own strength, or even of its traditional merits, but because there as yet had appeared in the political field no other party that had the conscience and the courage to take up and avow and practice the life-inspiring principle which the Democratic party had surrendered. At last, the Republican party has appeared. It avows, now, as the Republican party of 1800 did, in one word, its faith and its works, "Equal and exact justice to all men." Even when it first entered the field, only half-organized, it struck a blow which only just failed to secure complete and triumphant victory. In this, its second campaign, it has already won advantages which render that triumph now both easy and certain.

The secret of its assured success lies in that very characteristic which, in the mouth of scoffers, constitutes its great and lasting imbecility and reproach. It lies in the fact that it is a party of one idea; but that is a noble one — an

idea that fills and expands all generous souls — the idea of equality — the equality of all men before human tribunals and human laws, as they all are equal before the divine tribunal and divine laws.

I know, and you know, that a revolution has begun. I know, and all the world knows, that revolutions never go backward. Twenty Senators and a hundred Representatives proclaim boldly in Congress to-day sentiments and opinions and principles of freedom which hardly so many men, even in this free State, dared to utter in their own homes twenty years ago. While the Government of the United States, under the conduct of the Democratic party, has been all that time surrendering one plain and castle after another to slavery, the people of the United States have been no less steadily and perseveringly gathering together the forces with which to recover back again all the fields and all the castles which have been lost, and to confound and overthrow, by one decisive blow, the betrayers of the Constitution and freedom forever.

(Delivered at Rochester, October 25, 1858.)

The Voice of Prophecy.

By ABRAHAM LINCOLN, of Illinois.

(Born 1809, died 1865.)

MR. PRESIDENT AND GENTLEMEN OF THE CONVENTION: If we could first know where we are, and whither we are tending, we could better judge what to do, and how to do it. We are now far into the fifth year since a policy was initiated with the avowed object, and confident promise, of putting an end to slavery agitation. Under the operation of that policy, that agitation not only has not ceased, but has constantly augmented. In my opinion, it will not cease until a crisis shall have been reached and passed. "A house divided against itself cannot stand." I believe this Government cannot endure permanently half slave and half free. I do not expect the Union to be dissolved; I do not expect the house to fall; but I do expect that it will cease to be divided. It will become all one thing, or all the other. Either the opponents of slavery will arrest the further spread of it, and place it where the public mind shall rest in the belief that it is in the course of ultimate extinction; or its advocates will push it forward till it shall become alike lawful in all the States, old as well as new, North as well as South. Have we no tendency to the latter condition? Let anyone who doubts carefully contemplate that now almost complete legal combination piece of machinery, so to speak — compounded of the Nebraska doctrine and the Dred Scott decision. Let him consider not only what work the machinery is adapted to do, and how well adapted, but also let him study the history of its construction, and trace, if he can, or rather fail, if he can, to trace the evidences of design and concert of action among its chief architects from the beginning.

The new year of 1854 found slavery excluded from more than half the States by State Constitutions, and from most of the national territory by congressional prohibition. Four days later commenced the struggle which ended in repealing that congressional prohibition. This opened all the national territory to slavery, and was the first point gained. But, so far, Congress only had acted, and an indorsement, by the people, real or apparent, was indispensable, to save the point already gained and give chance for more. This necessity had

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not been overlooked, but had been provided for, as well as might be, in the notable argument of "squatter sovereignty," otherwise called "sacred right of self-government;"— which latter phrase, though expressive of the only rightful basis of any government, was so perverted in this attempted use of it as to amount to just this: That, if any *one* man choose to enslave *another*, no *third* man shall be allowed to object. That argument was incorporated with the Nebraska bill itself, in the language which follows: "It being the true intent and meaning of this act, not to legislate slavery into any Territory or State, nor to exclude it therefrom; but to leave the people thereof perfectly free to form and regulate their domestic institutions in their own way, subject only to the Constitution of the United States." Then opened the roar of loose declamation in favor of "squatter sovereignty," and "sacred right of self-government." "But," said opposition members, "let us amend the bill so as to expressly declare that the people of the Territory *may* exclude slavery." "Not we," said the friends of the measure; and down they voted the amendment.

While the Nebraska bill was passing through Congress, a *law case*, involving the question of a negro's freedom, by reason of his owner having voluntarily taken him first into a free State, and then into a Territory covered by the congressional prohibition, and held him as a slave for a long time in each, was passing through the United States Circuit Court for the District of Missouri; and both Nebraska bill and lawsuit were brought to a decision in the same month of May, 1854. The negro's name was Dred Scott, which name now designates the decision finally made in the case. Before the then next Presidential election, the law case came to, and was argued in, the Supreme Court of the United States; but the decision of it was deferred until after the election. Still, before the election, Senator Trumbull, on the floor of the Senate, requested the leading advocate of the Nebraska bill to state his *opinion* whether the people of a Territory can constitutionally exclude slavery from their limits; and the latter answers: "That is a question for the Supreme Court."

The election came, Mr. Buchanan was elected, and the indorsement, such as it was, secured. That was the second point gained. The indorsement, however, fell short of a clear popular majority by nearly four hundred thousand votes, and so, perhaps, was not overwhelmingly reliable and satisfactory. The outgoing President, in his last annual message, as impressively as possible, echoed back upon the people the weight and authority of the indorsement. The Supreme Court met again, did not announce their decision, but ordered a reargument. The presidential inauguration came, and still no decision of the court; but the incoming President, in his inaugural address, fervently exhorted the people to abide by the forthcoming decision, whatever it might be. Then,

in a few days, came the decision. The reputed author of the Nebraska bill finds an early occasion to make a speech at this capital, indorsing the Dred Scott decision, and vehemently denouncing all opposition to it. The new President, too, seizes the early occasion of the Silliman letter to indorse and strongly construe that decision, and to express his astonishment that any different view had ever been entertained. * * *

(Being part of a speech on his nomination to the United States Senate, at the Republican State Convention, Springfield, Illinois, June 16, 1858.)

Secession and the State of the Union.

By BENJAMIN F. WADE, of Ohio.
(Born 1800, died 1878.)

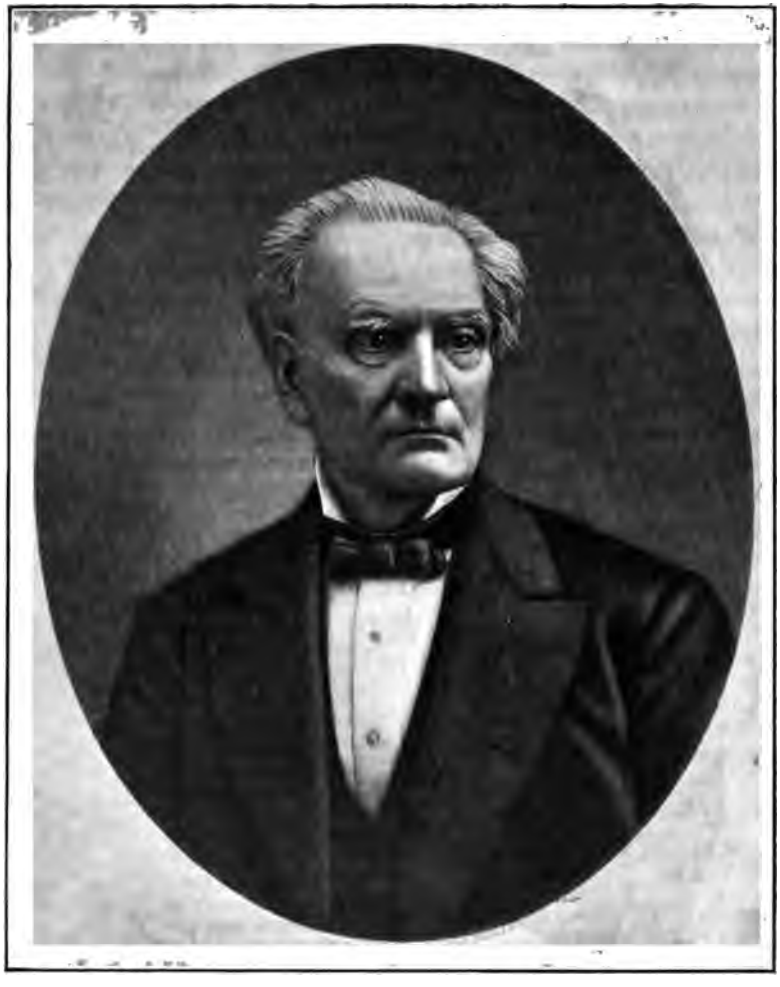
* * * * * * * *

GENTLEMEN, it will be very well for us all to take a view of all the phases of this controversy before we come to such conclusions as seem to have been arrived at in some quarters. I make the assertion here that I do not believe, in the history of the world, there ever was a nation or a people where a law repugnant to the general feeling was ever executed with the same faithfulness as has been your most savage and atrocious Fugitive bill, in the North. You yourselves can scarcely point out any case that has come before any Northern tribunal in which the law has not been enforced to the very letter. You ought to know these facts, and you do know them. You all know that when a law is passed anywhere to bind any people, who feel, in conscience, or for any other reason, opposed to its execution, it is not in human nature to enforce it with the same certainty as a law that meets with the approbation of the great mass of the citizens. Every rational man understands this, and every candid man will admit it. Therefore it is that I do not violently impeach you for your unfaithfulness in the execution of many of your laws. You have, in South Carolina, a law by which you take free citizens of Massachusetts or any other maritime State, who visit the city of Charleston, and lock them up in jail under the penalty, if they cannot pay the jail fees, of eternal slavery staring them in the face — a monstrous law, revolting to the best feelings of humanity and violently in conflict with the Constitution of the United States. I do not say this by way of recrimination; for the excitement pervading the country is now so great that I do not wish to add a single coal to the flame; but, nevertheless, I wish the whole truth to appear * * *

Now, Mr. President, I have shown, I think, that the dominant majority here have nothing to complain of in the legislation of Congress, or in the legislation of any of the States, or in the practice of the people of the North, under

the Fugitive Slave bill, except so far as they say certain State legislation furnishes some evidence of hostility to their institutions. And here, sir, I beg to make an observation. I tell the Senator, and I tell all the Senators, that the Republican party of the Northern States, so far as I know, and of my own State in particular, hold the same opinions with regard to this peculiar institution of yours that are held by all the civilized nations of the world. We do not differ from the public sentiment of England, of France, of Germany, of Italy, and every other civilized nation on God's earth; and I tell you frankly that you never found, and you never will find, a free community that are in love with your peculiar institution. The Senator from Texas (Mr. Wigfall) told us the other day that cotton was king, and that by its influence it would govern all creation. He did not say so in words, but that was the substance of his remark: that cotton was king, and that it had its subjects in Europe, who dared not rebel against it. Here let me say to that Senator, in passing, that it turns out that they are very rebellious subjects, and they are talking very disrespectfully at present of that king that he spoke of. They defy you to exercise your power over them. They tell you that they sympathize in this controversy with what you call the Black Republicans. Therefore, I hope that, so far as Europe is concerned at least, we shall hear no more of this boast that cotton is king; and that he is going to rule all the civilized nations of the world, and bring them to his footstool. Sir, it will never be done.

But, sir, I wish to inquire whether the Southern people are injured by, or have any just right to complain of, that platform of principles that we put out, and on which we have elected a President and Vice-President. I have no concealments to make, and I shall talk to you, my Southern friends, precisely as I would talk upon the stump on the subject. I tell you that in that platform we did lay it down that we would, if we had the power, prohibit slavery from another inch of free territory under this Government. I stand on that position to-day. I have argued it probably to half a million people. They stand there, and have commissioned and enjoined me to stand there forever; and, so help me God, I will. I say to you frankly, gentlemen, that while we hold this doctrine, there is no Republican, there is no convention of Republicans, there is no paper that speaks for them, there is no orator that sets forth their doctrines, who ever pretends that they have any right in your States to interfere with your peculiar institution; but, on the other hand, our authoritative platform repudiates the idea that we have any right or any intention ever to invade your peculiar institution in your own States.



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Now, what do you complain of? You are going to break up this Government; you are going to involve us in war and blood, from a mere suspicion that we shall justify that which we stand everywhere pledged not to do. Would you be justified in the eyes of the civilized world in taking so monstrous a position, and predicating it on a bare, groundless suspicion? We do not love slavery. Did you not know that before to-day, before this session commenced? Have you not a perfect confidence that the civilized world is against you on this subject of loving slavery or believing that it is the best institution in the world? Why, sir, everything remains precisely as it was a year ago. No great catastrophe has occurred. There is no recent occasion to accuse us of anything. But all at once, when we meet here, a kind of gloom pervades the whole community and the Senate Chamber. Gentlemen rise and tell us that they are on the eve of breaking up this Government, that seven or eight States are going to break off their connection with the Government, retire from the Union, and set up a hostile Government of their own; and they look imploringly over to us and say to us: "You can prevent it; we can do nothing to prevent it; but it all lies with you." Well, sir, what can we do to prevent it? You have not even condescended to tell us what you want; but I think I see through the speeches that I have heard from gentlemen on the other side. If we would give up the verdict of the people and take your platform, I do not know but you would be satisfied with it. * * *

It is not, then, that Mr. Lincoln is expected to do any overt act by which you may be injured; you will not wait for any; but anticipating that the Government may work an injury, you say you will put an end to it; which means, simply, that you intend either to rule or ruin this Government. That is what your complaint comes to; nothing else. We do not like your institution, you say. Well, we never liked it any better than we do now. You might as well have dissolved the Union at any other period as now, on that account, for we stand in relation to it precisely as we have ever stood; that is, repudiating it among ourselves as a matter of policy and morals, but nevertheless admitting that where it is out of our jurisdiction, we have no hold upon it, and no designs upon it.

Then, sir, as there is nothing in the platform on which Mr. Lincoln was elected of which you complain, I ask, is there anything in the character of the President-elect of which you ought to complain? Has he not lived a blameless life? Did he ever transgress any law? Has he ever committed any violation of duty of which the most scrupulous can complain? Why, then, your suspicions that he will? I have shown that you have had the Government all the time, until, by some misfortune or maladministration, you brought it to the

very verge of destruction, and the wisdom of the people had discovered that it was high time that the scepter should depart from you and be placed in more competent hands; I say, that this being so, you have no constitutional right to complain, especially when we disavow any intention so to make use of the victory we have won as to injure you at all.

This brings me, sir, to the question of compromises. On the first day of this session, a Senator rose in his place and offered a resolution for the appointment of a committee to inquire into the evils that exist between the different sections, and to ascertain what can be done to settle this great difficulty. That is the proposition substantially. I tell the Senator that I know of no difficulty, and as to compromises, I had supposed that we were all agreed that the day of compromises was at an end. The most solemn compromises we have ever made have been violated without a "whereas." Since I have had a seat in this body, one of considerable antiquity, that had stood for more than thirty years, was swept away from your statute-books. When I stood here in the minority arguing against it; when I asked you to withhold your hand; when I told you it was a sacred compromise between the sections, and that when it was removed we should be brought face to face with all that sectional bitterness that has intervened; when I told you that it was a sacred compromise which no man should touch with his finger, what was your reply? That it was a mere act of Congress — nothing more, nothing less — and that it could be swept away by the same majority that passed it. That was true in point of fact, and true in point of law; but it showed the weakness of compromises. Now, sir, I only speak for myself; and I say that, in view of the manner in which other compromises have been heretofore treated, I should hardly think any two of the Democratic party would look each other in the face and say "compromise" without a smile. (Laughter.) A compromise to be brought about by act of Congress, after the experience we have had, is absolutely ridiculous. * * *

I say, then, that, so far as I am concerned, I will yield to no compromise. I do not come here begging, either. It would be an indignity to the people that I represent, if I were to stand here parleying as to the rights of the party to which I belong. We have won our right to the Chief Magistracy of this nation in the way that you have always won your predominance; and if you are as willing to do justice to others as to exact it from them, you would never raise an inquiry as to a committee for compromises. Here I beg, barely for myself, to say one thing more. Many of you stand in an attitude hostile to this Government; that is to say, you occupy an attitude where you threaten that, unless we do so and so, you will go out of this Union and destroy the Government.

I say to you for myself, that, in my private capacity, I never yielded to anything by way of threat, and, in my public capacity, I have no right to yield to any such thing; and, therefore, I would not entertain a proposition for any compromise; for, in my judgment, this long, chronic controversy that has existed between us must be met, and met upon the principles of the Constitution and by-laws, and met now. I hope it may be adjusted to the satisfaction of all; and I know no other way to adjust it, except that way which is laid down by the Constitution of the United States. Whenever we go astray from that, we are sure to plunge ourselves into difficulties. The old Constitution of the United States, although commonly and frequently in direct opposition to what I could wish, nevertheless, in my judgment, is the wisest and best Constitution that ever yet organized a free government; and by its provisions I am willing and intend to stand or fall. Like the Senator from Mississippi, I ask nothing more. I ask no ingrafting upon it. I ask nothing to be taken away from it. Under its provisions a nation has grown faster than any other in the history of the world ever did before, in prosperity, in power, and in all that makes a nation great and glorious. It has ministered to the advantages of this people; and now I am unwilling to add or take away anything, till I can see much clearer than I can now that it wants either any addition or lopping off. * * *

The Senator from Texas says — it is not exactly his language — we will force you to an ignominious treaty up in Faneuil Hall. Well, sir, you may. We know you are brave; we understand your prowess; we want no fight with you; but, nevertheless, if you drive us to that necessity, we must use all the powers of this Government to maintain it intact in its integrity. If we are overthrown, we but share the fate of a thousand other Governments that have been subverted. If you are the weakest, then you must go to the wall; and that is all there is about it. That is the condition in which we stand, provided a State sets herself up in opposition to the General Government.

I say that is the way it seems to me, as a lawyer. I see no power in the Constitution to release a Senator from this position. Sir, if there was any other, if there was an absolute right of secession in the Constitution of the United States, when we stepped up there to take our oath of office, why was there not an exception in that oath? Why did it not run "that we would support the Constitution of the United States, unless our State shall secede before our term was out?" Sir, there is no such immunity. There is no way by which this can be done that I can conceive of, except it is standing upon the Constitution of the United States, demanding equal justice for all, and vindicating the old flag of the Union. We must maintain it, unless we are cloven down by superior force.

Well, sir, it may happen that you can make your way out of the Union, and that, by levying war upon the Government, you may vindicate your right to independence. If you should do so, I have a policy in my mind. No man would regret more than myself that any portion of the people of these United States should think themselves impelled, by grievances or anything else, to depart out of this Union and raise a foreign flag and a hand against the General Government. If there was any just cause on God's earth that I could see that was within my reach of honorable release from any such pretended grievance, they should have it; but they set forth none; I can see none. It is all a matter of prejudice, superinduced unfortunately, I believe, as I intimated before, more because you have listened to the enemies of the Republican party and what they said of us; while, from your intolerance, you have shut out all light as to what our real principles are. We have been called and branded in the North and in the South and everywhere else, as John Brown men, as men hostile to your institutions, as meditating an attack upon your institutions in your own States — a thing that no Republican ever dreamed of or ever thought of, but has protested against as often as the question has been up; but your people believe it. No doubt they believe it because of the terrible excitement and reign of terror that prevails there. No doubt they think so, but it arises from false information, or the want of information — that is all. Their prejudices have been appealed to until they have become uncontrolled and uncontrollable.

Well, sir, if it shall be so; if that "glorious Union," as we call it, under which the Government has so long lived and prospered, is now about to come to a final end, as perhaps it may, I have been looking around to see what policy we should adopt; and through that gloom, which has been mentioned on the other side, if you will have it so, I still see a glorious future for those who stand by the old flag of the nation. * * *

But, sir, I am for maintaining the Union of these States. I will sacrifice everything but honor to maintain it. That glorious old flag of ours, by any act of mine, shall never cease to wave over the integrity of this Union as it is. But if they will not have it so, in this new, renovated Government of which I have spoken, the Fourth of July, with all its glorious memories, will never be repealed. The old flag of 1776 will be in our hands, and shall float over this nation forever; and this Capitol, that some gentlemen said would be reserved for the Southern Republic, shall still be the Capitol. It was laid out by Washington; it was consecrated by him; and the old flag that he vindicated in the Revolution shall still float from the Capitol.

I say, sir, I stand by the Union of these States. Washington and his compatriots fought for that good old flag. It shall never be hauled down, but shall

be the glory of the Government to which I belong, as long as my life shall continue. To maintain it, Washington and his compatriots fought for liberty and the rights of man. And here I will add that my own father, although but a humble soldier, fought in the same great cause, and went through hardships and privations sevenfold worse than death, in order to bequeath it to his children. It is my inheritance. It was my protector in infancy, and the pride and glory of my riper years; and, Mr. President, although it may be assailed by traitors on every side, by the grace of God, under its shadow I will die.

(Delivered in the Senate of the United States, December 17, 1860.)

Secession.

By ALFRED IVERSON, of Georgia.
(Born 1798, died 1874.)

I DO not rise, Mr. President, for the purpose of entering at any length into this discussion, or to defend the President's message, which has been attacked by the Senator from New Hampshire. I am not the mouthpiece of the President. While I do not agree with some portions of the message, and some of the positions that have been taken by the President, I do not perceive all the inconsistencies in that document which the Senator from New Hampshire has thought proper to present.

It is true, that the President denies the constitutional right of a State to secede from the Union; while, at the same time, he also states that this Federal Government has no constitutional right to enforce or to coerce a State back into the Union, which may take upon itself the responsibility of secession. I do not see any inconsistency in that. The President may be right when he asserts the fact that no State has a constitutional right to secede from the Union. I do not myself place the right of a State to secede from the Union upon constitutional grounds. I admit that the Constitution has not granted that power to a State. It is exceedingly doubtful, even, whether the right has been reserved. Certainly it has not been reserved in express terms. I, therefore, do not place the expected action of any of the Southern States, in the present contingency, upon the constitutional right of secession; and I am not prepared to dispute, therefore, the position which the President has taken upon that point.

I rather agree with the President that the secession of a State is an act of revolution taken through that particular means or by that particular measure. It withdraws from the Federal compact, disclaims any further allegiance to it, and sets itself up as a separate Government, an independent State. The State does it at its peril, of course, because it may or may not be cause of war by the remaining States composing the Federal Government. If they think proper to consider it such an act of disobedience, or if they consider that the policy of the Federal Government be such that it cannot submit to this dismemberment, why, then they may or may not make war, if they choose, upon the seceding

States. It will be a question, of course, for the Federal Government or the remaining States to decide for themselves, whether they will permit a State to go out of the Union, and remain as a separate and independent State, or whether they will attempt to force her back at the point of the bayonet. That is a question, I presume, of policy and expediency, which will be considered by the remaining States composing the Federal Government, through their organ, the Federal Government, whenever the contingency arises.

But, sir, while a State has no power, under the Constitution, conferred upon it to secede from the Federal Government or from the Union, each State has the right of revolution, which all admit. Whenever the burdens of the Government under which it acts become so onerous that it cannot bear them, or if anticipated evil shall be so great that the State believes it would be better off — even risking the perils of secession — out of the Union than in it; then that State, in my opinion, like all people upon earth, has the right to exercise the great fundamental principle of self-preservation, and go out of the Union — though, of course, at its own peril — and bear the risk of the consequences. And while no State may have the constitutional right to secede from the Union, the President may not be wrong when he says the Federal Government has no power under the Constitution to compel the State to come back into the Union. It may be a *casus omissus* in the Constitution; but I should like to know where the power exists in the Constitution of the United States to authorize the Federal Government to coerce a sovereign State. It does not exist in terms, at any rate, in the Constitution. I do not think there is any inconsistency, therefore, between the two positions of the President in the message, upon these particular points.

The only fault I have to find with the message of the President is the inconsistency of another portion. He declares that, as the States have no power to secede, the Federal Government is in fact a consolidated government; that it is not a voluntary association of States. I deny it. It was a voluntary association of States. No State was ever forced to come into the Federal Union. Every State came voluntarily into it. It was an association, a voluntary association of States; and the President's position that it is not a voluntary association is, in my opinion, altogether wrong.

But whether that be so or not, the President declares and assumes that this Government is a consolidated government to this extent: that all the laws of the Federal Government are to operate directly upon each individual of the States, if not upon the States themselves, and must be enforced; and yet, at the same time, he says that the State which secedes is not to be coerced. He says that the laws of the United States must be enforced against every individual of a State.

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Of course, the State is composed of individuals within its limits, and if you enforce the laws and obligations of the Federal Government against each and every individual of the State, you enforce them against a State. While, therefore, he says that a State is not to be coerced, he declares, in the same breath, his determination to enforce the laws of the Union, and, therefore, to coerce the State if a State goes out. There is the inconsistency, according to my idea, which I do not see how the President or anybody else can reconcile. That the Federal Government is to enforce its laws over the seceding State, and yet not coerce her into obedience, is to me incomprehensible.

But I did not rise, Mr. President, to discuss these questions in relation to the message; I rose in behalf of the State that I represent, as well as other Southern States that are engaged in this movement, to accept the issue which the Senator from New Hampshire has seen fit to tender; that is — of *war!* Sir, the Southern States now moving in this matter are not doing it without due consideration. We have looked over the whole field. We believe that the only security for the institution to which we attach so much importance, is secession and a Southern Confederacy. We are satisfied, notwithstanding the disclaimers upon the part of the Black Republicans to the contrary, that they intend to use the Federal power, when they get possession of it, to put down and extinguish the institution of slavery in the Southern States. I do not intend to enter upon the discussion of that point. That, however, is my opinion. It is the opinion of a large majority of those with whom I associate at home, and I believe of the Southern people. Believing that this is the intention and object, the ultimate aim and design, of the Republican party, the Abolitionists of the North, we do not intend to stay in this Union until we shall become so weak that we shall not be able to resist, when the time comes for resistance. Our true policy is the one which we have made up our minds to follow. Our true policy is to go out of this Union now, while we have strength to resist any attempt on the part of the Federal Government to coerce us. * * *

We intend, Mr. President, to go out peaceably if we can, forcibly if we must; but I do not believe, with the Senator from New Hampshire, that there is going to be any war. If five or eight States go out, they will necessarily draw all the other Southern States after them. That is a consequence that nothing can prevent. If five or eight States go out of this Union, I should like to see the man that would propose a declaration of war against them, or attempt to force them into obedience to the Federal Government at the point of the bayonet or the sword.

Sir, there has been a good deal of vaporing on this subject. A great many threats have been thrown out. I have heard them on this floor, and upon the

floor of the other House of Congress; but I have also perceived this: they come from those who would be the very last men to attempt to put their threats into execution. Men talk sometimes about their eighteen millions who are to whip us; and yet we have heard of cases in which just such men had suffered themselves to be switched in the face, and trembled like sheep-stealing dogs, expecting to be shot every minute. These threats generally come from men who would be the last to execute them. Some of these Northern editors talk about whipping the Southern States like spaniels. Brave words; but I venture to assert none of those men would ever volunteer to command an army to be sent down South to coerce us into obedience to Federal power. * * *

But, sir, I apprehend that when we go out and form our Confederacy — as I think and hope we shall do very shortly — the Northern States, or the Federal Government, will see its true policy to be to let us go in peace and make treaties of commerce and amity with us, from which they will derive more advantages than from any attempt to coerce us. They cannot succeed in coercing us. If they allow us to form our Government without difficulty, we shall be very willing to look upon them as a favored nation, and give them all the advantages of commercial and amicable treaties. I have no doubt that both of us — certainly the Southern States — would live better, more happily, more prosperously, and with greater friendship, than we live now in this Union.

Sir, disguise the fact as you will, there is an enmity between the Northern and Southern people that is deep and enduring, and you never can eradicate it — never! Look at the spectacle exhibited on this floor. How is it? There are the Republican Northern Senators upon that side. Here are the Southern Senators on this side. How much social intercourse is there between us? You sit upon your side, silent and gloomy; we sit upon ours, with knit brows and portentous scowls. Yesterday, I observed that there was not a solitary man on that side of the Chamber came over here, even to extend the civilities and courtesies of life; nor did any of us go over there. Here are two hostile bodies on this floor; and it is but a type of the feeling that exists between the two sections. We are enemies as much as if we were hostile States. I believe that the Northern people hate the South worse than ever the English people hated France; and I can tell my brethren over there, that there is no love lost upon the part of the South.

In this state of feeling — divided as we are by interest, by a geographical feeling, by everything that makes two people separate and distinct — I ask why we should remain in the same Union together? We have not lived in peace; we are not now living in peace. It is not expected or hoped that we shall ever live in peace. My doctrine is that whenever even man and wife find that they must

quarrel, and cannot live in peace, they ought to separate; and these two sections — the North and South — manifesting, as they have done and do now and probably will ever manifest, feelings of hostility, separated as they are in interests and objects, my own opinion is they can never live in peace; and the sooner they separate, the better.

Sir, these sentiments I have thrown out crudely, I confess, and upon the spur of the occasion. I should not have opened my mouth but that the Senator from New Hampshire seemed to show a spirit of bravado, as if he intended to alarm and scare the Southern States into a retreat from their movements. He says that war is to come, and you had better take care, therefore. That is the purport of his language; of course, those are not his words; but I understand him very well, and everybody else, I apprehend, understands him that war is threatened, and, therefore, the South had better look out. Sir, I do not believe that there will be any war; but if war is to come, let it come. We will meet the Senator from New Hampshire and all the myrmidons of Abolitionism and Black Republicanism everywhere, upon our own soil; and, in the language of a distinguished member from Ohio, in relation to the Mexican War, we will " welcome you with bloody hands to hospitable graves."

(Delivered in the United States Senate, December 5, 1860.)

The Death of Douglas.

By LYMAN TRUMBULL, of Connecticut.

(Born 1813, died 1896.)

HE was three times elected by the people to the House of Representatives, and thrice by the Legislature of his State to a seat in this body, and was continuously a member of one House or the other, from his first entry, in 1843, till his death, four years of his last senatorial term still remaining unexpired. From this brief history, it appears that Judge Douglas devoted more than half his life, and all the years of his manhood, to the public service; and so prominent was the part he took in public affairs, so intimate the connection between his own rise and fame, and the progress and renown of his State and the nation, that the history of the one would be incomplete without that of the other. No great public movement has taken place since he entered public life which has not felt the influence of his will and his intellect; perhaps no one man, since the Government began, ever exercised a greater influence over the masses of the people than he. No one ever gathered around him more devoted followers or more enthusiastic admirers, who were willing to do and dare more for another, than were his friends for him.

What this charm was which so linked the popular heart to him that it never faltered even under circumstances apparently the most discouraging, seems almost mysterious. This feeling of attachment followed him to the grave, and was never more manifest than after his decease, when he had become alike indifferent to the adulation of friends or the censure of enemies, and when his power had forever departed either to reward the one or punish the other. It was then, if ever, as his body lay lifeless in the city of Chicago, that the true feeling of a people would manifest itself; and it did manifest itself, not only there, but throughout the nation, to an extent scarcely, if ever, witnessed since the death of the Father of his Country. The badges of mourning were seen displayed, not only from the public buildings and the mansions of the rich, but the cottages of the poor, the carts of the workman, and the implements of the laborer were everywhere to be seen draped with the habiliments of woe, all the

more touching as they were simple and plain. The people's favorite in life, he was followed by their lamentations in death.

But Judge Douglas possessed not only the power of fascinating the masses; he was a marked man wherever he went and with whomsoever he associated. No matter whether as a lawyer at the bar; as a judge on the bench; at an agricultural society, where the skilled in mechanical and industrial pursuits were assembled; at some college commencement, where the learned were convened: in the other house of Congress, in the midst of the tumult and commotion of its most excited debates; in this more deliberative body, or before the popular assembly of the people; wherever he appeared he always shone conspicuous. He was one of the few men who have proved themselves equal to every emergency in which they have been called upon to act. I remember well when he was transferred from the House of Representatives to the Senate, his enemies predicted and his friends feared that his talents were not fitted for this body, and that he would be unable to sustain the reputation he had acquired in the more popular branch. He entered here when the great men whose talents and learning and eloquence have shed an undying lustre on the American Senate — when Clay, Webster, Benton, and Calhoun, in the vigor of manhood, full of wisdom and experience, were still here, and proved himself no mean compeer of either. His speech of 1850, wherein he met and refuted the positions of the great Carolinian, upon the very points which have been made the pretexts of the Southern rebellion, was, perhaps, the greatest effort of his life.

The distinguishing characteristics of Judge Douglas, which enabled him to cope successfully with the greatest intellects of the age, were fearlessness, quickness of apprehension, a strong will, and indomitable energy. He knew no such word as fail. He had full confidence in himself, and of his ability to accomplish whatever he undertook. In controversy he was unsurpassed; and without pretension either to accomplished scholarship or eloquence, there was a fullness in his voice, an earnestness in his manner, a directness in his argument, and a determination in his every look and action, which never failed to command attention; and, often electrifying the multitude, would elicit unbounded applause. This crowded chamber has often been witness of the delight with which the multitude hung upon his words.

Of the political course of Judge Douglas, and its effect on the country, it does not become me to speak; but I may be permitted to say that, when a portion of the opposition to the administration assumed the position of armed resistance to its authority, and attempted by force to dismember the Republic, he at once took sides with his country. His course had much to do in producing that unanimity in support of the Government which is now seen through-

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out the loyal States. The sublime spectacle of twenty million people rising as one man in vindication of constitutional liberty and free government, when assailed by misguided rebels and plotting traitors, is, to a considerable extent, due to his efforts. His magnanimous and patriotic course in this trying hour of his country's destiny was the crowning act of his life. All his life long a devoted partisan of the Democratic faith, he did not hesitate, when his country was in peril chiefly from those who had formerly been his political associates, to give his powerful support and the aid of his great influence to the Government, though controlled by political adversaries. If, in thus discharging his duty, Judge Douglas manifested a disinterestedness, a magnanimity, and a patriotism which entitle him to credit, it is but just to say that he was met by his political opponents in a similar spirit. Perhaps the highest compliment ever paid him, and one which few statesmen have ever received, was that extended to him by the Legislature of Illinois, on his return to the State after the close of the last session of the Senate. That body, controlled in both its branches by his political adversaries, unanimously invited him to address them on the condition of the country; and nobly did he respond to the invitation. His address delivered on that occasion, which, by order of the Legislature, was extensively circulated through the State, will ever remain an enduring monument to his fame, and an example worthy of all imitation of the sacrifice of pride to principle, of self to country, and of party to patriotism.

(From a speech delivered in the United States Senate, July 9, 1861.)

Farewell Address.

By JEFFERSON DAVIS, of Mississippi.

(Born 1808, died 1889.)

I RISE, Mr. President, for the purpose of announcing to the Senate that I have satisfactory evidence that the State of Mississippi, by a solemn ordinance of her people in convention assembled, has declared her separation from the United States. Under these circumstances, of course, my functions are terminated here. It has seemed to me proper, however, that I should appear in the Senate to announce that fact to my associates, and I will say but very little more. The occasion does not invite me to go into argument, and my physical condition would not permit me to do so if it were otherwise; and yet it seems to become me to say something on the part of the State I here represent, on an occasion so solemn as this.

It is known to the Senators who have served with me here, that I have for many years advocated, as an essential attribute of State sovereignty, the right of a State to secede from the Union. Therefore, if I had not believed there was justifiable cause; if I had thought that Mississippi was acting without sufficient provocation, or without any existing necessity, I should still, under my theory of the government, because of my allegiance to the State of which I am a citizen, have been bound by her action. I, however, may be permitted to say that I do think that she has justifiable cause, and I approve of her act. I conferred with her people before that act was taken, counseled them then that if the state of things, which they apprehended should exist when the convention met, they should take the action which they have now adopted.

I hope none who hear me will confound this expression of mine with the advocacy of the right of a State to remain in the Union, and to disregard its constitutional obligations by the nullification of the law. Such is not my theory. Nullification and secession, so often confounded, are, indeed, antagonistic principles. Nullification is a remedy which it is sought to apply within the Union, and against the agent of the States. It is only to be justified when the agent has violated his constitutional obligation, and a State, assuming to judge for itself, denies the right of the agent thus to act, and appeals to the other States of the Union for a decision; but when the States themselves, and when the

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people of the States, have so acted as to convince us that they will not regard our constitutional rights, then, and then for the first time, arises the doctrine of secession in its practical application.

A great man who now reposes with his fathers, and who has been often arraigned for a want of fealty to the Union, advocated the doctrine of nullification, because it preserved the Union. It was because of his deep-seated attachment to the Union, his determination to find some remedy for existing ills short of a severance of the ties which bound South Carolina to the other States, that Mr. Calhoun advocated the doctrine of nullification, which he proclaimed to be peaceful, to be within the limits of State power, not to disturb the Union, but only to be a means of bringing the agent before the tribunal of the States for their judgment.

Secession belongs to a different class of remedies. It is to be justified upon the basis that the States are sovereign. There was a time when none denied it. I hope the time may come again, when a better comprehension of the theory of our Government, and the inalienable rights of the people of the States, will prevent anyone from denying that each State is a sovereign, and thus may reclaim the grants which it has made to any agent whomsoever.

I, therefore, say I concur in the action of the people of Mississippi, believing it to be necessary and proper, and should have been bound by their action if my belief had been otherwise; and this brings me to the important point which I wish on this last occasion to present to the Senate. It is by this confounding of nullification and secession that the name of the great man, whose ashes now mingle with his mother earth, has been invoked to justify coercion against a seceded State. The phrase, "to execute the laws," was an expression which General Jackson applied to the case of a State refusing to obey the laws while yet a member of the Union. That is not the case which is now presented. The laws are to be executed over the United States, and upon the people of the United States. They have no relation to any foreign country. It is a perversion of terms, at least it is a great misapprehension of the case, which cites that expression for application to a State which has withdrawn from the Union. You may make war on a foreign State. If it be for the purpose of coercion, they may make war against a State which has withdrawn from the Union; but there are no laws of the United States to be executed within the limits of a seceded State. A State, finding herself in the condition in which Mississippi has judged she is, in which her safety requires that she should provide for the maintenance of her rights out of the Union, surrenders all the benefits (and they are known to be many), deprives herself of the advantages (they are known to be great), severs all the ties of affection (and they are close and enduring)

which have bound her to the Union; and thus divesting herself of every benefit, taking upon herself every burden, she claims to be exempt from any power to execute the laws of the United States within her limits. * * *

I find in myself, perhaps, a type of the general feeling of my constituents toward yours. I am sure I feel no hostility to you, Senators from the North. I am sure there is not one of you, whatever sharp discussion there may have been between us, to whom I cannot now say, in the presence of my God, I wish you well; and such, I am sure, is the feeling of the people whom I represent toward those whom you represent. I, therefore, feel that I but express their desire when I say I hope, and they hope, for peaceful relations with you, though we must part. They may be mutually beneficial to us in the future, as they have been in the past, if you so will it. The reverse may bring disaster on every portion of the country; and if you will have it thus, we will invoke the God of our fathers, who delivered them from the power of the lion, to protect us from the ravages of the bear; and thus, putting our trust in God, and in our own firm hearts and strong arms, we will vindicate the right as best we can.

In the course of my service here, associated at different times with a great variety of Senators, I see now around me some with whom I have served long; there have been points of collision; but whatever of offense there has been to me, I leave here; I carry with me no hostile remembrance. Whatever offense I have given which has not been redressed, or for which satisfaction has not been demanded, I have, Senators, in this hour of our parting, to offer you my apology for any pain which, in heat of discussion, I have inflicted. I go hence unincumbered of the remembrance of any injury received, and having discharged the duty of making the only reparation in my power for any injury offered.

Mr. President and Senators, having made the announcement which the occasion seemed to me to require, it only remains for me to bid you a final adieu.

(Delivered in the United States Senate, January 21, 1861, on the occasion of his withdrawal from the Union.)

Inaugural Address.

By JEFFERSON DAVIS, of Mississippi.

(Born 1808, died 1889.)

GENTLEMEN OF THE CONGRESS OF THE CONFEDERATE STATES OF AMERICA, FRIENDS, AND FELLOW CITIZENS: Our present condition, achieved in a manner unprecedented in the history of nations, illustrates the American idea that governments rest upon the consent of the governed, and that it is the right of the people to alter and abolish governments whenever they become destructive to the ends for which they were established. The declared compact of the Union, from which we have withdrawn, was to establish justice, insure domestic tranquillity, provide for the common defense, promote the general welfare, and secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and our posterity; and when, in the judgment of the sovereign States now composing this Confederacy, it has been perverted from the purposes for which it was ordained, and ceased to answer the ends for which it was established, a peaceful appeal to the ballot-box declared that, so far as they were concerned, the Government created by that compact should cease to exist. In this they merely asserted the right which the Declaration of Independence of 1776 defined to be inalienable. Of the time and occasion of this exercise, they as sovereigns were the final judges, each for himself. The impartial, enlightened verdict of mankind will vindicate the rectitude of our conduct; and he who knows the hearts of men will judge of the sincerity with which we labored to preserve the Government of our fathers, in its spirit.

The right, solemnly proclaimed at the birth of the States, and which has been affirmed and reaffirmed in the Bills of Rights of the States subsequently admitted into the Union of 1789, undeniably recognizes in the people the power to resume the authority delegated for the purposes of government. Thus the sovereign States here represented proceeded to form this Confederacy; and it is by the abuse of language that their act has been denominated revolution. They formed a new alliance; but within each State its Government has remained. The rights of person and property have not been disturbed. The agent through

whom they communicated with foreign nations is changed; but this does not necessarily interrupt their international relations. Sustained by the consciousness that the transition from the former Union to the present Confederacy has not proceeded from a disregard on our part of our just obligations or any failure to perform every constitutional duty, moved by no interest or passion to invade the rights of others, anxious to cultivate peace and commerce with all nations; if we may not hope to avoid war, we may at least expect that posterity will acquit us of having needlessly engaged in it. Doubly justified by the absence of wrong on our part, and by wanton aggression on the part of others, there can be no use to doubt the courage and patriotism of the people of the Confederate States will be found equal to any measure of defense which soon their security may require.

An agricultural people, whose chief interest is the export of a commodity required in every manufacturing country, our true policy is peace and the freest trade which our necessities will permit. It is alike our interest and that of all those to whom we would sell and from whom we would buy, that there should be the fewest practicable restrictions upon the interchange of commodities. There can be but little rivalry between ours and any manufacturing or navigating community, such as the Northeastern States of the American Union. It must follow, therefore, that mutual interest would invite good-will and kind offices. If, however, passion or lust of dominion should cloud the judgment or inflame the ambition of those States, we must prepare to meet the emergency, and maintain, by the final arbitrament of the sword, the position which we have assumed among the nations of the earth.

We have entered upon a career of independence, and it must be inflexibly pursued through many years of controversy with our late associates of the Northern States. We have vainly endeavored to secure tranquillity and obtain respect for the rights to which we were entitled. As a necessity, not a choice, we have resorted to the remedy of separation; and henceforth our energies must be directed to the conduct of our own affairs, and the perpetuity of the Confederacy which we have formed. If a just perception of mutual interest shall permit us peaceably to pursue our separate political career, my most earnest desire will have been fulfilled. But if this be denied us, and the integrity of our territory and jurisdiction be assailed, it will but remain for us with firm resolve to appeal to arms and invoke the blessing of Providence on a just cause. * * *

Actuated solely by a desire to preserve our own rights and to promote our own welfare, the separation of the Confederate States has been marked by no aggression upon others, and followed by no domestic convulsion. Our indus-

trial pursuits have received no check, the cultivation of our fields progresses as heretofore; and even should we be involved in war, there would be no considerable diminution in the production of the staples which have constituted our exports, in which the commercial world has an interest scarcely less than our own. This common interest of producer and consumer can only be intercepted by an exterior force, which should obstruct its transmission to foreign markets; a course of conduct which would be detrimental to manufacturing and commercial interests abroad.

Should reason guide the action of the Government from which we have separated, a policy so detrimental to the civilized world — the Northern States included — could not be dictated by even a stronger desire to inflict injury upon us; but if it be otherwise, a terrible responsibility will rest upon it, and the suffering of millions will bear testimony to the folly and wickedness of our aggressors. In the meantime, there will remain to us, besides the ordinary remedies before suggested, the well-known resources for retaliation upon the commerce of an enemy. * * * We have changed the constituent parts but not the system of our Government. The Constitution formed by our fathers is that of these Confederate States. In their exposition of it, and in the judicial construction it has received, we have a light which reveals its true meaning. Thus instructed as to the just interpretation of that instrument, and ever remembering that all offices are but trusts held for the people, and that delegated powers are to be strictly construed, I will hope by due diligence in the performance of my duties — though I may disappoint your expectation — yet to retain, when retiring, something of the good-will and confidence which will welcome my entrance into office.

It is joyous in the midst of perilous times to look around upon a people united in heart, when one purpose of high resolve animates and actuates the whole; where the sacrifices to be made are not weighed in the balance against honor, right, liberty, and equality. Obstacles may retard, but they cannot long prevent, the progress of a movement sanctioned by its justice and sustained by a virtuous people. Reverently let us invoke the God of our fathers to guide and protect us in our efforts to perpetuate the principles which by his blessing they were able to vindicate, establish, and transmit to their posterity; and with a continuance of his favor, ever gratefully acknowledged, we may hopefully look forward to success, to peace, to prosperity.

(Delivered at Montgomery, Ala., February 18, 1861.)

The System of Slavery.

By HENRY WARD BEECHER, of New York.
(Born 1813, died 1887.)

FOR more than twenty-five years I have been made perfectly familiar with popular assemblies in all parts of my country, except the extreme South. There has not, for the whole of that time, been a single day of my life when it would have been safe for me to go south of Mason and Dixon's line in my own country, and all for one reason: my solemn, earnest, persistent testimony against that which I consider to be the most atrocious thing under the sun — the system of American slavery in a great, free republic. (Cheers.) I have passed through that early period when right of free speech was denied to me. Again and again I have attempted to address audiences that, for no other crime than that of free speech, visited me with all manner of contumelious epithets; and now since I have been in England, although I have met with greater kindness and courtesy on the part of most than I deserved, yet, on the other hand, I perceive that the Southern influence prevails to some extent in England. (Applause and uproar.) It is my old acquaintance; I understand it perfectly (laughter) and I have always held it to be an unfailing truth that where a man had a cause that would bear examination he was perfectly willing to have it spoken about. (Applause.) And when in Manchester I saw those huge placards: "Who is Henry Ward Beecher?" (Laughter, cries of "quite right," and applause.) And when in Liverpool I was told that there were those blood-red placards, purporting to say what Henry Ward Beecher had said, and calling upon Englishmen to suppress free speech — I tell you what I thought. I thought simply this: "I am glad of it." (Laughter.) Why? Because if they had felt perfectly secure, that *you* are the minions of the South and the slaves of slavery, they would have been perfectly still. (Applause and uproar.) And, therefore, when I saw so much nervous apprehension that, if I were permitted to speak — (hisses and applause) — when I found they were afraid to have me speak — (hisses, laughter and "No, no!") — when I found that they considered my speaking damaging to their cause — (applause) — when I found that they appealed from

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facts and reasonings to mob law (applause and uproar), I said, no man need tell me what the heart and secret counsel of these men are. They tremble and are afraid. (Applause, laughter, hisses, "No, no!" and a voice: "New York mob.") Now, personally, it is a matter of very little consequence to me whether I speak here to-night or not. (Laughter and cheers.) But, one thing is very certain, if you do permit me to speak here to-night you will hear very plain talking. (Applause and hisses.) You will not find a man — (interruption) — you will not find me to be a man that dared to speak about Great Britain three thousand miles off, and then is afraid to speak to Great Britain when he stands on her shores. (Immense applause and hisses.) And if I do not mistake the tone and temper of Englishmen, they had rather have a man who opposes them in a manly way (applause from all parts of the hall) than a sneak that agrees with them in an unmanly way. (Applause and "Bravo!") Now, if I can carry you with me by sound convictions, I shall be immensely glad (applause); but if I cannot carry you with me by facts and sound arguments, I do not wish you to go with me at all; and all that I ask is simply fair play. (Applause, and a voice: "You shall have it too.")

Those of you who are kind enough to wish to favor my speaking — and you will observe that my voice is slightly husky, from having spoken almost every night in succession for some time past — those who wish to hear me will do me the kindness simply to sit still and to keep still; and I and my friends the secessionists will make all the noise. (Laughter.)

There are two dominant races in modern history — the Germanic and the Romanic races. The Germanic races tend to personal liberty, to a sturdy individualism, to civil and to political liberty. The Romanic race tends to absolutism in government; it is clannish; it loves chieftains; it develops a people that crave strong and showy governments to support and plan for them. The Anglo-Saxon race belongs to the great German family, and is a fair exponent of its peculiarities. The Anglo-Saxon carries self-government and self-development with him wherever he goes. He has popular government and popular industry; for the effects of a generous civil liberty are not seen a whit more plain in the good order, in the intelligence, and in the virtue of a self-governing people, than in their amazing enterprise, and the scope and power of their creative industry. The power to create riches is just as much a part of the Anglo-Saxon virtues as the power to create good order and social safety. The things required for prosperous labor, prosperous manufactures, and prosperous commerce are three: first, liberty; second, liberty; third, liberty. ("Hear, hear!") Though these are not merely the same liberty, as I shall show you. First, there must be liberty to follow those laws of business which

experience has developed, without imposts or restrictions or governmental intrusions. Business simply wants to be let alone. ("Hear, hear!") Then, secondly, there must be liberty to distribute and exchange products of industry in any market without burdensome tariffs, without imposts, and without vexatious regulations. There must be these two liberties — liberty to create wealth, as the makers of it think best, according to the light and experience which business has given them; and then liberty to distribute what they have created without unnecessary vexatious burdens. The comprehensive law of the ideal industrial condition of the world is free manufacture and free trade. ("Hear, hear!" A voice: "The Morrill tariff." Another voice: "Monroe.") I have said there were three elements of liberty. The third is the necessity of an intelligent and free race of customers. There must be freedom among producers; there must be freedom among the distributors; there must be freedom among the customers. It may not have occurred to you that it makes any difference what one's customers are, but it does in all regular and prolonged business. The condition of the customer determines how much he will buy, determines of what sort he will buy. Poor and ignorant people buy little and that of the poorest kind. The richest and the intelligent, having the more means to buy, buy the most and always buy the best. Here, then, are the three liberties: liberty of the producer, liberty of the distributor, and liberty of the consumer. The first two need no discussion; they have been long thoroughly and brilliantly illustrated by the political economists of Great Britain and by her eminent statesmen; but it seems to me that enough attention has not been directed to the third; and, with your patience, I will dwell upon that for a moment, before proceeding to other topics.

It is a necessity of every manufacturing and commercial people that their customers should be very wealthy and intelligent. Let us put the subject before you in the familiar light of your own local experience. To whom do the tradesmen of Liverpool sell the most goods at the highest profit? To the ignorant and poor or to the educated and prosperous? (A voice: "To the Southerners." Laughter.) The poor man buys simply for his body; he buys food, he buys clothing, he buys fuel, he buys lodging. * * *

On the other hand, a man well off — how is it with him? He buys in far greater quantity. He can afford to do it; he has the money to pay for it. He buys in far greater variety, because he seeks to gratify not merely physical wants, but also mental wants. He buys for the satisfaction of sentiment and taste, as well as of sense. He buys silk, wool, flax, cotton; he buys all metals — iron, silver, gold, platinum; in short he buys for all necessities and all substances. But that is not all. He buys a better quality of goods. He buys

richer silks, finer cottons, higher-grained wools. Now a rich silk means so much skill and care of somebody's, that has been expended upon it to make it finer and richer; and so of cotton and so of wool. That is, the price of the finer goods runs back to the very beginning and remunerates the workman as well as the merchant. Now, the whole laboring community is as much interested and profited as the mere merchant, in this buying and selling of the higher grades in the greater varieties and quantities. * * * Both the workman and the merchant are profited by having purchasers that demand quality, variety, and quantity. Now, if this be so in the town or the city, it can only be so because it is a law. This is the specific development of a general or universal law, and, therefore, we should expect to find it as true of a nation as of a city like Liverpool. I know that it is so, and you know that it is true of all the world; and it is just as important to have customers educated, intelligent, moral, and rich out of Liverpool as it is in Liverpool. (Applause.) They are able to buy; they want variety; they want the very best, and those are the customers you want. That nation is the best customer that is freest, because freedom works prosperity, industry, and wealth. Great Britain, then, aside from moral considerations, has a direct commercial and pecuniary interest in the liberty, civilization, and wealth of every nation on the globe. (Loud applause.) You also have an interest in this, because you are a moral and religious people. ("Oh, oh!" laughter and applause.) You desire it from the highest motives; and godliness is profitable in all things, having the promise of the life that now is as well as of that which is to come; but if there were no hereafter, and if man had no progress in this life, and if there were no question of civilization at all, it would be worth your while to protect civilization and liberty merely as a commercial speculation. * * *

They have said that your chief want is cotton. I deny it. Your chief want is consumers. (Applause and hisses.) You have got skill, you have got capital, and you have got machinery enough to manufacture goods for the whole population of the globe. You could turn out fourfold as much as you do, if you only had the market to sell in. It is not so much the want, therefore, of fabric, though there may be a temporary obstruction of it; but the principal and increasing want — increasing from year to year — is, where shall we find men to buy what we can manufacture so fast? (Interruption and a voice, "The Morrill tariff," and applause.) Before the American war broke out, your warehouses were loaded with goods that you could not sell. (Applause and hisses.) You had over-manufactured; what is the meaning of over-manufacturing but this: that you had skill, capital, machinery, to create faster than you had customers to take goods off your hands? And you know that rich as Great

Britain is, vast as are her manufactures, if she could have fourfold the present demand, she could have fourfold riches to-morrow; and every political economist will tell you that your want is not cotton primarily, but customers. Therefore, the doctrine, how to make customers, is a great deal more important to Great Britain than the doctrine how to raise cotton. It is to that doctrine I ask from you, business men, practical men, men of fact, sagacious Englishmen, to that point I ask a moment's attention. (Shouts of "Oh, oh!" hisses and applause.) There are no more continents to be discovered. ("Hear, hear!") The market of the future must be found — how? There is very little hope of any more demand being created by new fields. If you are to have a better market there must be some kind of process invented to make the old fields better. (A voice: "Tell us something new," shouts of "Order!" and interruption.) Let us look at it, then. You must civilize the world in order to make a better class of purchasers. (Interruption.) If you were to press Italy down again under the feet of despotism, Italy, discouraged, could draw but very few supplies from you. * * *

A savage is a man of one story, and that one story a cellar. When a man begins to be civilized, he raises another story. When you Christianize and civilize the man, you put story upon story, for you develop faculty after faculty; and you have to supply every story with your productions. The savage is a man one story deep; the civilized man is thirty stories high. (Applause.) Now, if you go to a lodging-house, where there are three or four men, your sales to them may, no doubt, be worth something; but if you go to a lodging-house like some of those which I saw in Edinburgh, which seemed to contain about twenty stories ("Oh, oh!" and interruption), every story of which is full, and all who occupy buy of you — which is the better customer, the man who is drawn out or the man who is pinched up? (Laughter.) Now, there is in this a great and sound principle of economy. ("Yah, yah!" from the passage outside the hall and loud laughter.) If the South should be rendered independent — (at this juncture mingled cheering and hissing became immense; half the audience rose to their feet, waving hats and handkerchiefs, and in every part of the hall there was the greatest commotion and uproar). You have had your turn now; now let me have mine again. (Loud applause and laughter.) It is a little inconvenient to talk against the wind; but, after all, if you will just keep good natured — I am not going to lose my temper; will you watch yours? (Applause.) Besides all that, it rests me, and gives me a chance, you know, to get my breath. (Applause and hisses.) And I think that the bark of those men is worse than their bite. They do not mean any harm — they don't know any better. (Loud laughter, applause, hisses and continued uproar.)

I was saying, when these responses broke in, that it was worth our while to consider both alternatives. What will be the result if this present struggle shall eventuate in the separation of America and making the South — (loud applause, hisses, hooting, and cries of "Bravo!") — a slave territory exclusively — (cries of "No, no!" and laughter) — and the North a free territory — what will be the final result? You will lay the foundation for carrying the slave population clear through to the Pacific ocean. This is the first step. There is not a man that has been a leader of the South any time within these twenty years, that has not had this for a plan. It was for this that Texas was invaded, first by colonists, next by marauders, until it was wrested from Mexico. It was for this that they engaged in the Mexican War itself, by which the vast territory reaching to the Pacific was added to the Union. Never for a moment have they given up the plan of spreading the American institutions, as they call them, straight through toward the West; until the slave, who has washed his feet in the Atlantic, shall be carried to wash them in the Pacific. (Cries of "Question," and uproar.) There! I have got that statement out and you cannot put it back. (Laughter and applause.) Now, let us consider the prospect. If the South becomes a slave empire, what relation will it have to you as a customer? (A voice: "Or any other man." Laughter.) It would be an empire of twelve millions of people. Now, of these, eight millions are white and four millions black. (A voice: "How many have you got?" Applause and laughter. Another voice: "Free your own slaves.") Consider that one-third of the whole are the miserably poor, unbuying blacks. (Cries of "No, no!" "Yes, yes!" and interrruption.) You do not manufacture much for them. (Hisses, "Oh!" "No.") You have not got machinery coarse enough. (Laughter and "No.") Your labor is too skilled by far to manufacture bagging and linsey-woolsey. (A Southerner: "We are going to free them, every one.") Then you and I agree exactly. (Laughter.) One other third consists of a poor, unskilled, degraded white population; and the remaining one-third, which is a large allowance, we will say, intelligent and rich.

Now here are twelve millions of people, and only one-third of them are customers that can afford to buy the kind of goods that you bring to market. (Interruption and uproar.) My friends, I saw a man once, who was a little late at a railway station, chase an express train. He did not catch it. (Laughter.) If you are going to stop this meeting, you have got to stop it before I speak; for after I have got the things out, you may chase as long as you please — you would not catch them. (Laughter and interruption.) But there is luck in leisure; I'm going to take it easy. (Laughter.) Two-thirds of the population of the Southern States to-day are non-purchasers of English goods. (A voice: "No,

they are not"; "No, no!" and uproar.) Now you must recollect another fact — namely, that this is going on clear through to the Pacific ocean; and if by sympathy or help you establish a slave empire, you sagacious Britons —("Oh, oh!" and hooting) — if you like it better, then, I will leave the adjective out — (laughter, "Hear!" and applause) — are busy in favoring the establishment of an empire from ocean to ocean that should have fewest customers and the largest non-buying population. (Applause, "No, no!" A voice: "I thought it was the happy people that populated fastest.") * * *

It is said that the North is fighting for Union, and not for emancipation. The North is fighting for Union, for that insures emancipation. (Loud cheers, "Oh, oh!" "No, no!" and cheers.) A great many men say to ministers of the Gospel: "You pretend to be preaching and working for the love of the people. Why, you are all the time preaching for the sake of the Church." What does the minister say? "It is by means of the Church that we help the people," and when men say that we are fighting for the Union, I too say we are fighting for the Union. ("Hear, hear!" and a voice: "That's right.") But the motive determines the value; and why are we fighting for the Union? Because we never shall forget the testimony of our enemies. They have gone off declaring that the Union in the hands of the North was fatal to slavery. (Loud applause.) There is testimony in court for you. (A voice: "See that," and laughter.) * * *

In the first place I am ashamed to confess that such was the thoughtlessness — (interruption) — such was the stupor of the North — (renewed interruption) — you will get a word at a time; to-morrow will let folks see what it is you don't want to hear — that for a period of twenty-five years she went to sleep, and permitted herself to be drugged and poisoned with the Southern prejudice against black men. (Applause and uproar.) The evil was made worse, because, when any object whatever has caused anger between political parties, a political animosity arises against that object, no matter how innocent in itself; no matter what were the original influences which excited the quarrel. Thus the colored man has been the football between the two parties in the North, and has suffered accordingly. I confess it to my shame. But I am speaking now on my own ground, for I began twenty-five years ago, with a small party, to combat the unjust dislike of the colored man. (Loud applause, dissension, and uproar. The interruption at this point became so violent that the friends of Mr. Beecher throughout the hall rose to their feet, waving hats and handkerchiefs, and renewing their shouts of applause. The interruption lasted some minutes.) Well, I have lived to see a total revolution in the Northern feeling — I stand here to bear solemn witness of that. It is not my opinion; it is my knowledge.

(Great uproar.) Those men who undertook to stand up for the rights of all men — black as well as white — have increased in number; and now what party in the North represents those men that resist the evil prejudices of past years? The Republicans are that party. (Loud applause.) And who are those men in the North that have oppressed the negro? They are the *Peace Democrats;* and the prejudice for which in England you are attempting to punish me, is a prejudice raised by the men who have opposed me all my life. These pro-slavery Democrats abused the negro. I defended him, and they mobbed me for doing it. Oh, justice! (Loud laughter, applause, and hisses.) * * *

There is another fact that I wish to allude to — not for the sake of reproach or blame, but by way of claiming your more lenient consideration — and that is, that slavery was entailed upon us by your action. ("Hear, hear!") Against the earnest protests of the Colonists the then Government of Great Britain — I will concede not knowing what were the mischiefs — ignorantly, but in point of fact, forced slave traffic on the unwilling Colonists. (Great uproar, in the midst of which one individual was lifted up and carried out of the room amidst cheers and hisses.)

The Chairman: If you would only sit down no disturbance would take place.

(The disturbance having subsided, Mr. Beecher continued.)

I was going to ask you, suppose each child is born with hereditary disease; suppose this disease was entailed upon him by parents who had contracted it by their own misconduct, would it be fair that those parents that had brought into the world the diseased child, should rail at that child because it was diseased? ("No, no!") Would not the child have a right to turn 'round and say: "Father, it was your fault that I had it, and you ought to be pleased to be patient with my deficiencies." (Applause and hisses, and cries of "Order!" Great interruption and great disturbance here took place on the right of the platform; and the chairman said that if the persons around the unfortunate individual who had caused the disturbance would allow him to speak alone, but not assist him in making the disturbance, it might soon be put an end to. The interruption continued until another person was carried out of the hall. Mr. Beecher continued.) I do not ask that you should justify slavery in us, because it was wrong in you two hundred years ago; but having ignorantly been the means of fixing it upon us, now that we are struggling with mortal struggles to free ourselves from it, we have a right to your tolerance, your patience, and charitable constructions.

No man can unveil the future; no man can tell what revolutions are about to break upon the world; no man can tell what destiny belongs to France, nor

to any of the European powers; but one thing is certain, that in the exigencies of the future there will be combinations and recombinations, and that those nations that are of the same faith, the same blood, and the same substantial interests ought not to be alienated from each other, but ought to stand together. (Immense cheering and hisses.) I do not say that you ought not to be in the most friendly alliance with France or with Germany; but I do say that your own children, the offspring of England, ought to be nearer to you than any people of strange tongue. (A voice: "Degenerate sons," applause and hisses; another voice: "What about the Trent?") If there had been any feelings of bitterness in America, let me tell you that they had been excited, rightly or wrongly, under the impression that Great Britain was going to intervene between us and our own lawful struggle. (A voice: "No!" and applause.) With the evidence that there is no such intention, all bitter feelings will pass away. (Applause.) We do not agree with the recent doctrine of neutrality as a question of law. But it is past, and we are not disposed to raise that question. We accept it now as a fact, and we say that the utterance of Lord Russell at Blairgowrie — (Applause, hisses, and a voice: "What about Lord Brougham?")— together with the declaration of the Government in stopping war-steamers here — (great uproar, and applause)— has gone far toward quieting every fear and removing every apprehension from our minds. (Uproar and shouts of applause.) And now in the future it is the work of every good man and patriot not to create divisions, but to do the things that will make for peace. ("Oh, oh," and laughter.) On our part it shall be done. (Applause and hisses, and "No, no.") On your part it ought to be done; and when in any of the convulsions that come upon the world, Great Britain finds herself struggling single-handed against the gigantic powers that spread oppression and darkness — (applause, hisses, and uproar) — there ought to be such cordiality that she can turn and say to her first-born and most illustrious child, "Come!" ("Hear, hear!" applause, tremendous cheers, and uproar.) I will not say that England cannot again, as hitherto, single-handed manage any power — (applause and uproar) — but I will say that England and America together for religion and liberty — (A voice: "Soap, soap," uproar, and great applause) — are a match for the world. (Applause; a voice: "They don't want any more soft soap.") Now, gentlemen and ladies — (A voice: "Sam Slick;" and another voice: "Ladies and gentlemen, if you please,")— when I came I was asked whether I would answer questions, and I very readily consented to do so, as I had in other places; but I will tell you it was because I expected to have the opportunity of speaking with some sort of ease and quiet. (A voice: "So you have.") I have for an hour and a half spoken against a storm — ("Hear, hear!")

— and you yourselves are witnesses that, by the interruption, I have been obliged to strive with my voice, so that I no longer have the power to control this assembly. (Applause.) And although I am in spirit perfectly willing to answer any question, and more than glad of the chance, yet I am by this very unnecessary opposition to-night incapacitated physically from doing it. Ladies and gentlemen, I bid you good evening.

(Being an address at Liverpool, October 16, 1863.)

The War and Its Conduct.

By CLEMENT L. VALLANDIGHAM, of Ohio.
(Born 1820, died 1871.)

SIR, I am one of that number who have opposed Abolitionism, or the political development of the antislavery sentiment of the North and West, from the beginning. In school, at college, at the bar, in public assemblies, in the Legislature, in Congress, boy and man, in time of peace and in time of war, at all times and at every sacrifice, I have fought against it. It cost me ten years' exclusion from office and honor at that period of life when honors are sweetest. No matter; I learned early to do right and to wait. Sir, it is but the development of the spirit of intermeddling, whose children are strife and murder. Cain troubled himself about the sacrifices of Abel, and slew his brother. Most of the wars, contentions, litigation, and bloodshed, from the beginning of time, have been its fruits. The spirit of non-intervention is the very spirit of peace and concord. * * *

The spirit of intervention assumed the form of Abolitionism because slavery was odious in name and by association to the Northern mind, and because it was that which most obviously marks the different civilizations of the two sections. The South herself, in her early and later efforts to rid herself of it, had exposed the weak and offensive parts of slavery to the world. Abolition intermeddling taught her at last to search for and defend the assumed social, economic, and political merit and values of the institution. But there never was an hour from the beginning when it did not seem to me as clear as the sun at broad noon that the agitation in any form in the North and West of the slavery question must sooner or later end in disunion and civil war. This was the opinion and prediction for years of Whig and Democratic statesmen alike; and, after the unfortunate dissolution of the Whig party in 1854, and the organization of the present Republican party upon the exclusive antislavery and sectional basis, the event was inevitable; because, in the then existing temper of the public mind, and after the education through the press and the pulpit, the lecture and the political canvass, for twenty years, of a generation taught to have slavery and the South, the success of that party — possessed as it was of every engine of po-

litical, business, social, and religious influence — was certain. It was only a question of time, and short time. Such was its strength, indeed, that I do not believe that the union of the Democratic party in 1860 on any candidate, even though he had been supported also by the entire so-called conservative or anti-Lincoln vote of the country, would have availed to defeat it; and, if it had, the success of the Abolition party would only have been postponed four years longer. The disease had fastened too strongly upon the system to be healed until it had run its course. The doctrine of "the irrepressible conflict" had been taught too long, and accepted too widely and earnestly, to die out until it should culminate in secession and disunion, and, if coercion were resorted to, then in civil war. I believed from the first that it was the purpose of some of the apostles of that doctrine to force a collision between the North and the South, either to bring about a separation or to find a vain but bloody pretext for abolishing slavery in the States. In any event, I knew, or thought I knew, that the end was certain collision and death to the Union.

Believing thus, I have for years past denounced those who taught that doctrine, with all the vehemence, the bitterness, if you choose — I thought it a righteous, a patriotic bitterness — of an earnest and impassioned nature. * * * But the people did not believe me, nor those older and wiser and greater than I. They rejected the prophecy, and stoned the prophets. The candidate of the Republican party was chosen President. Secession began. Civil war was imminent. It was no petty insurrection, no temporary combination to obstruct the execution of the laws in certain States, but a revolution, systematic, deliberate, determined, and with the consent of a majority of the people of each State which seceded. Causeless it may have been, wicked it may have been, but there it was — not to be railed at, still less to be laughed at, but to be dealt with by statesmen as a fact. No display of vigor or force alone, however sudden or great, could have arrested it even at the outset. It was disunion at last. The wolf had come, but civil war had not yet followed. In my deliberate and solemn judgment there was but one wise and masterly mode of dealing with it. Non-coercion would avert civil war, and compromise crush out both Abolitionism and secession. The parent and the child would thus both perish. But a resort to force would at once precipitate war, hasten secession, extend disunion, and while it lasted utterly cut off all hope of compromise. I believed that war, if long enough continued, would be final, eternal disunion. I said it; I meant it; and accordingly, to the utmost of my ability and influence, I exerted myself in behalf of the policy of non-coercion. It was adopted by Mr. Buchanan's administration, with the almost unanimous consent of the Democratic and Constitutional Union parties in and out of Congress; and in February, with the con-

CLEMENT L. VALLANDIGHAM.

sent of a majority of the Republican party in the Senate and the House. But that party, most disastrously for the country, refused all compromise. How, indeed, could they accept any? That which the South demanded, and the Democratic and Conservative parties of the North and West were willing to grant, and which alone could avail to keep the peace and save the Union, implied a surrender of the sole vital element of the party and its platform, of the very principle, in fact, upon which it had just won the contest for the Presidency, not, indeed, by a majority of the popular vote — the majority was nearly a million against it — but under the forms of the Constitution. Sir, the crime, the "high crime," of the Republican party was not so much its refusal to compromise, as its original organization upon a basis and doctrine wholly inconsistent with the stability of the Constitution and the peace of the Union.

The President-elect was inaugurated; and now, if only the policy of coercion could be maintained, and war thus averted, time would do its work in the North and the South, and final peaceable adjustment and reunion be secured. Some time in March it was announced that the President had resolved to continue the policy of his predecessor, and even go a step further, and evacuate Sumter and the other Federal forts and arsenals in the seceded States. His own party acquiesced; the whole country rejoiced. The policy of non-coercion had triumphed, and for once, sir, in my life, I found myself in an immense majority. No man then pretended that a Union founded in consent could be cemented by force. Nay, more, the President and the Secretary of State went further. Said Mr. Seward, in an official diplomatic letter to Mr. Adams: "For these reasons, he (the President) would not be disposed to reject a cardinal dogma of theirs (the secessionists), namely, that the Federal Government could not reduce the seceding States to obedience by conquest, although he were disposed to question that proposition. But, in fact, the President willingly accepts it as true. Only an imperial or despotic Government could subjugate thoroughly disaffected and insurrectionary members of the State. * * * This Federal republican system of ours is, of all forms of government, the very one which is most unfitted for such a labor." This, sir, was on the 10th of April, and yet on that very day the fleet was under sail for Charleston. The policy of peace had been abandoned. Collision followed; the militia were ordered out; civil war began.

Now, sir, on the 14th of April, I believed that coercion would bring on war; and war, disunion. More than that, I believed, what you all believe in your hearts to-day, that the South could never be conquered — never! And not that only, but I was satisfied — and you of the Abolition party have now proved it to the world — that the secret but real purpose of the war was to abolish

slavery in the States. * * * These were my convictions on the 14th of April. Had I changed them on the 15th, when I read the President's proclamation, * * * I would have changed my public conduct also. But my convictions did not change. I thought that, if war was disunion on the 14th of April, it was equally disunion on the 15th, and at all times. Believing this, I could not, as an honest man, a Union man, and a patriot, lend an active support to the war; and I did not. I had rather my right arm were plucked from its socket and cast into eternal burnings than, with my convictions, to have thus defiled my soul with the guilt of moral perjury. Sir, I was not taught in that school which proclaims that "all is fair in politics." I loathe, abhor, and detest the execrable maxim. * * * Perish office, perish honors, perish life itself; but do the thing that is right, and do it like a man.

Certainly, sir, I could not doubt what he must suffer who dare defy the opinions and the passions, not to say the madness, of twenty millions of people. * * * I did not support the war; and to-day I bless God that not the smell of so much as one drop of its blood is upon my garments. Sir, I censure no brave man who rushed patriotically into this war; neither will I quarrel with any one, here or elsewhere, who gave to it an honest support. Had their convictions been mine, I, too, would doubtless have done as they did. With my convictions I could not. But I was a Representative. War existed — by whose act no matter — not by mine. The President, the Senate, the House, and the country all said that there should be war. * * * I belonged to that school of politics which teaches that, when we are at war, the Government — I do not mean the Executive alone, but the Government — is entitled to demand and have, without resistance, such number of men, and such amount of money and supplies generally, as may be necessary for the war, until an appeal can be had to the people. Before that tribunal alone, in the first instance, must the question of the continuance of the war be tried. This was Mr. Calhoun's opinion * * * in the Mexican War. Speaking of that war in 1847, he said: "Every Senator knows that I was opposed to the war; but none but myself knows the depth of that opposition. With my conception of its character and consequences, it was impossible for me to vote for it. * * * But, after war was declared, by authority of the Government, I acquiesced in what I could not prevent, and what it was impossible for me to arrest; and I then felt it to be my duty to limit my effort to give such direction to the war as would, as far as possible, prevent the evils and dangers with which it threatened the country and its institutions."

Sir, I adopt all this as my position and my defense, though, perhaps, in a civil war, I might fairly go further in opposition. I could not, with my con-

victions, vote men and money for this war, and I would not, as a Representative, vote against them. I meant that, without opposition, the President might take all the men and all the money he should demand, and then to hold him to a strict responsibility before the people for the results. Not believing the soldiers responsible for the war or its purposes or its consequences, I have never withheld my vote where their separate interests were concerned. But I have denounced from the beginning the usurpations and the infractions, one and all, of law and Constitution, by the President and those under him; their repeated and persistent arbitrary arrests, the suspension of *habeas corpus*, the violation of freedom of the mails, of the private house, of the press, and of speech, and all the other multiplied wrongs and outrages upon public liberty and private right, which have made this country one of the worst despotisms on earth for the past twenty months; and I will continue to rebuke and denounce them to the end; and the people, thank God, have at last heard and heeded, and rebuked them too. To the record and to time I appeal again for my justification.

(Delivered in the House of Representatives, January 14, 1863.)

The Gettysburg Address.

By ABRAHAM LINCOLN, of Illinois.

(Born 1809, died 1865.)

FOURSCORE AND SEVEN years ago our fathers brought forth upon this continent a new nation, conceived in liberty, and dedicated to the proposition that all men are created equal. Now we are engaged in a great civil war, testing whether that nation, or any nation so conceived and so dedicated, can long endure. We are met on a great battlefield of that war. We have come to dedicate a portion of that field as a final resting-place for those who here gave their lives that that nation might live. It is altogether fitting and proper that we should do this. But in a larger sense we cannot dedicate, we cannot consecrate, we cannot hallow this ground. The brave men, living and dead, who struggled here, have consecrated it far above our power to add or detract. The world will little note, nor long remember, what we say here; but it can never forget what they did here. It is for us, the living, rather to be dedicated here to the unfinished work which they who fought here have thus far so nobly advanced. It is rather for us to be here dedicated to the great task remaining before us, that from these honored dead we take increased devotion to that cause for which they gave the last full measure of devotion; that we here highly resolve that these dead shall not have died in vain; that this nation, under God, shall have a new birth of freedom, and that government of the people, by the people, and for the people, shall not perish from the earth.

(Delivered at the battlefield, November 19, 1863.)

Peace.

By JAMES A. GARFIELD, of Ohio.

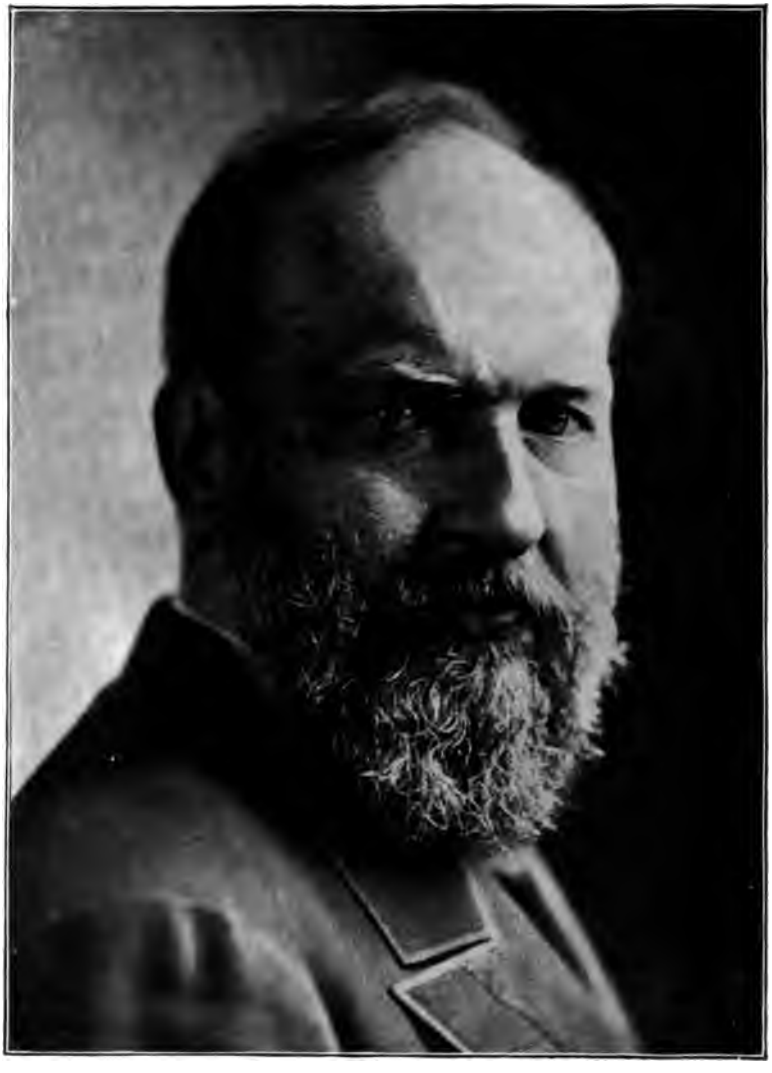
(Born 1831, died 1881.)

MR. CHAIRMAN: I should be obliged to you if you would direct the Sergeant-at-Arms to bring a white flag and plant it in the aisle between myself and my colleague who has just addressed you.

I recollect on one occasion when two great armies stood face to face, that under a white flag just planted, I approached a company of men dressed in the uniform of the rebel Confederacy, and reached out my hand to one of the number, and told him I respected him as a brave man. Though he wore the emblems of disloyalty and treason, still, underneath his vestments I beheld a brave and honest soul.

I would produce that scene here this afternoon. I say, were there such a flag of truce — but God forbid me if I should do it under any other circumstances — I would reach out this right hand and ask that gentleman to take it; because I honor his bravery and his honesty. I believe what has just fallen from his lips are the honest sentiments of his heart, and in uttering it he has made a new epoch in the history of this war; he has done a new thing under the sun; he has done a brave thing. It is braver than to face cannon and musketry, and I honor him for his candor and frankness.

But now, I ask you to take away the flag of truce; and I will go back inside the Union lines and speak of what he has done. I am reminded by it of a distinguished character in Paradise Lost. When he rebelled against the glory of God, and "led away a third part of Heaven's sons, conjured against the Highest;" when, after terrible battles in which mountains and hills were hurled down "nine times the space that measures day and night," and after the terrible fall lay stretched prone on the burning lake,— Satan lifted up his shattered bulk, crossed the abyss, looked down into Paradise, and, soliloquizing, said: "Which way I fly is Hell, myself am Hell;" it seems to me in that utterance he expressed the very sentiments to which you have just listened; uttered by one not less brave, malign, and fallen. This man gathers up the meaning of this



JAMES A. GARFIELD.

great contest, the philosophy of the moment, the prophecies of the hour, and, in sight of the paradise of victory and peace, utters them all in this wail of terrible despair, "Which way I fly is Hell." He ought add, "Myself am Hell."

For the first time in the history of this contest, it is proposed in this hall to give up the struggle, to abandon the war, and let treason run riot through the land. I will, if I can, dismiss feeling from my heart and try to consider only what bears upon the logic of the speech to which we have just listened.

First of all, the gentleman tells us that the right of secession is a constitutional right. I do not propose to enter into the argument. I have hitherto expressed myself on State sovereignty and State rights, of which this proposition of his is the legitimate child.

He proposes to leave to the United States a territory reaching from the Atlantic to the Pacific, and one hundred miles wide in the center. From Wellsville on the Ohio to Cleveland on the lakes is one hundred miles. I ask you, Mr. Chairman, if there be a man here so insane as to suppose that the American people will allow their magnificent national proportions to be shorn to so deformed a shape as this?

Suppose the policy of the gentleman were adopted to-day. Let the order go forth; sound the "recall" on your bugles, and let it ring from Texas to the far Atlantic, and tell the armies to come back. Call the victorious legions back over the battlefield of blood forever now disgraced. Call them back over the territory which they have conquered. Call them back, and let the minions of secession chase them with derision and jeers as they come. And then tell them that the man across the aisle, from the free State of Ohio, gave birth to the monstrous proposition.

Mr. Chairman, if such a word should be sent forth through the armies of the Union, the wave of terrible vengeance that would sweep back over this land could never find a parallel in the records of history. Almost in the moment of final victory, the "recall" is sounded by a craven people not desiring freedom. We ought, every man, to be made a slave should we sanction such a sentiment.

The gentleman has told us there is no such thing as coercion justifiable under the Constitution. I ask him for one moment to reflect, that no statute ever was enforced without coercion. It is the basis of every law in the universe,—God's law as well as man's. A law is no law without coercion behind it. When a man has murdered his brother, coercion takes the murderer, tries him, and hangs him. When you levy your taxes, coercion secures their collection; it follows the shadow of the thief and brings him to justice; it accompanies your diplomacy to foreign courts, and backs a declaration of the nation's right by a pledge of the nation's power. * * *

What is the Constitution that these gentlemen are perpetually flinging in our faces whenever we desire to strike hard blows against the rebellion? It is the production of the American people. They made it; and the creator is mightier than the creature. The power which made the Constitution can also make other instruments to do its great work in the day of dire necessity.

(Being part of a speech in the House of Representatives, April 8, 1864.)

Lincoln's Second Inaugural Address.

By ABRAHAM LINCOLN, of Illinois.

(Born 1809, died 1865.)

FELLOW COUNTRYMEN: At this second appearing to take the oath of the Presidential office, there is less occasion for an extended address than there was at first. Then a statement, somewhat in detail, of a course to be pursued, seemed very fitting and proper. Now, at the expiration of four years, during which public declarations have been constantly called forth on every point and phase of the great contest which still absorbs the attention and engrosses the energies of the nation, little that is new could be presented.

The progress of our arms, upon which all else chiefly depends, is as well known to the public as to myself; and it is, I trust, reasonably satisfactory and encouraging to all. With high hope for the future, no prediction in regard to it is ventured.

On the occasion corresponding to this four years ago, all thoughts were anxiously directed to an impending civil war. All dreaded it, all sought to avoid it. While the inaugural address was being delivered from this place, devoted altogether to saving the Union without war, insurgent agents were in the city seeking to destroy it with war — seeking to dissolve the Union and divide the effects by negotiation. Both parties deprecated war, but one of them would make war rather than let the nation survive, and the other would accept war rather than let it perish; and the war came. One-eighth of the whole population were colored slaves, not distributed generally over the Union, but localized in the Southern part of it. These slaves constituted a peculiar and powerful interest. All knew that this interest was somehow the cause of the war. To strengthen, perpetuate, and extend this interest was the object for which the insurgents would rend the Union by war, while the Government claimed no right to do more than to restrict the territorial enlargement of it.

Neither party expected for the war the magnitud or the duration which it has already attained. Neither anticipated that the cause of the conflict might cease when, or even before the conflict itself should cease. Each looked for an easier triumph, and a result less fundamental and astounding. Both read the

same Bible and pray to the same God, and each invokes his aid against the other. It may seem strange that any men should dare to ask a just God's assistance in wringing their bread from the sweat of other men's faces; but let us judge not, that we be not judged. The prayer of both could not be answered. That of neither has been answered fully. The Almighty has his own purposes. Woe unto the world because of offenses, for it must needs be that offenses come, but woe to that man by whom the offense cometh. If we shall suppose that American slavery is one of those offenses which, in the providence of God, must needs come, but which having continued through his appointed time, he now wills to remove, and that he gives to both North and South this terrible war as the woe due to those by whom the offense came — shall we discern there any departure from those divine attributes which the believers in a living God always ascribe to him? Fondly do we hope, fervently do we pray, that this mighty scourge of war may speedily pass away. Yet if God wills that it continue until all the wealth piled by the bondsman's two hundred and fifty years of unrequited toil shall be sunk, and until every drop of blood drawn with the lash shall be paid by another drawn with the sword; as was said three thousand years ago, so still it must be said, that the judgments of the Lord are true and righteous altogether.

With malice toward none, with charity for all, with firmness in the right as God gives us to see the right, let us finish the work we are in, to bind up the nation's wounds, to care for him who shall have borne the battle, and for his widow and his orphans, to do all which may achieve and cherish a just and a lasting peace among ourselves and with all nations.

(Delivered at Washington, March 4, 1865.)

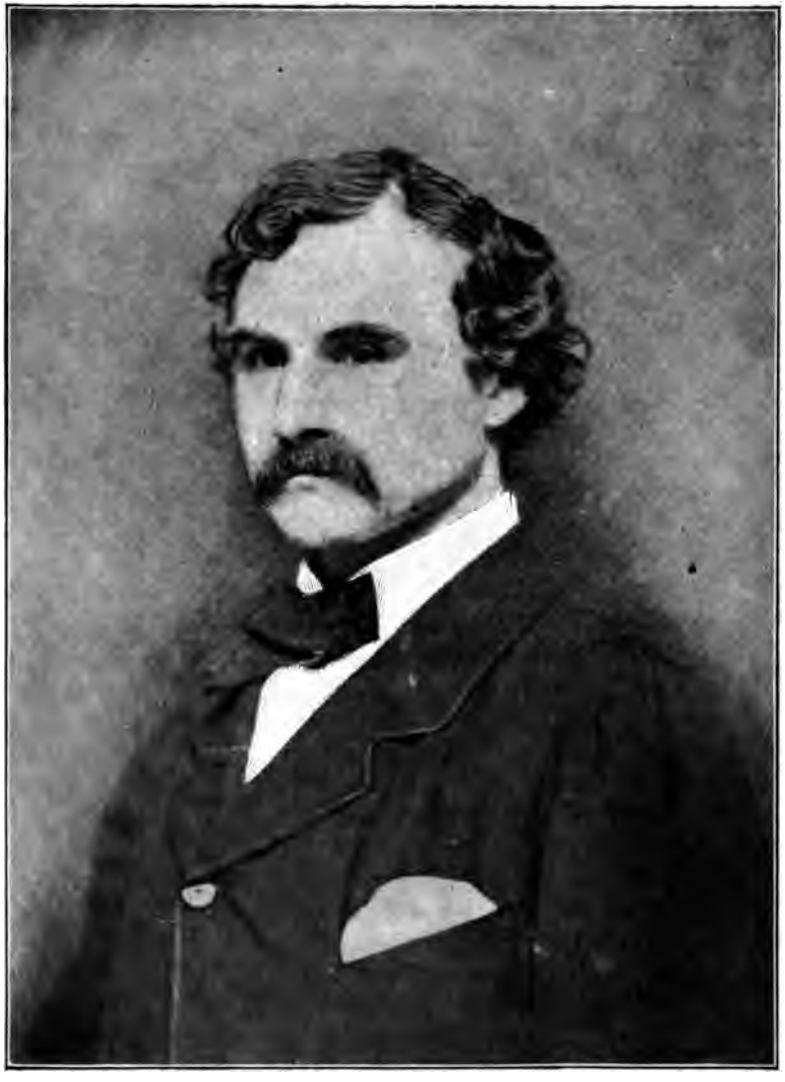
Reconstruction.

By HENRY WINTER DAVIS, of Maryland.

(Born 1817, died 1865.)

* * * * * * * *

WHAT is the nature of this case with which we have to deal, the evil we must remedy, the danger we must avert? In other words, what is that monster of political wrong which is called secession? It is not, Mr. Speaker, domestic violence, within the meaning of that clause of the Constitution; for the violence was the act of the people of those States through their Governments, and was the offspring of their free and unforced will. It is not invasion, in the meaning of the Constitution; for no State has been invaded against the will of the Government of the State by any power except the United States marching to overthrow the usurpers of its territory. It is, therefore, the act of the people of the States, carrying with it all the consequences of such an act. And, therefore, it must be either a legal revolution, which makes them independent, and makes of the United States a foreign country; or it is a usurpation against the authority of the United States, the erection of Governments which do not recognize the Constitution of the United States, which the Constitution does not recognize, and, therefore, not republican governments of the States in rebellion. The latter is the view which all parties take of it. I do not understand that any gentleman on the other side of the House says that any rebel Government which does not recognize the Constitution of the United States, and which is not recognized by Congress, is a State Government within the meaning of the Constitution. Still less can it be said that there is a State Government, republican or unrepublican, in the State of Tennessee, where there is no Government of any kind, no civil authority, no organized form of administration except that represented by the flag of the United States, obeying the will and under the orders of the military officer in command. * * * Those that are here represented are the only Governments existing within the limits of the United States. Those that are not here represented are not Governments of the States, republican under



HENRY WINTER DAVIS.

the Constitution. And if they be not, then they are military usurpations, inaugurated as the permanent Governments of the States, contrary to the supreme law of the land, arrayed in arms against the Government of the United States; and it is the duty, the first and highest duty, of the Government to suppress and expel them. Congress must either expel or recognize and support them. If it does not guarantee them, it is bound to expel them; and they who are not ready to suppress are bound to recognize them.

We are now engaged in suppressing a military usurpation of the authority of the State Governments. When that shall have been accomplished, there will be no form of State authority in existence which Congress can recognize. Our success will be the overthrow of all semblance of government in the rebel States. The Government of the United States is then, in fact, the only government existing in those States, and it is there charged to guarantee them republican governments.

What jurisdiction does the duty of guaranteeing a republican government confer under such circumstances upon Congress? What right does it give? What laws may it pass? What objects may it accomplish? What conditions may it insist upon, and what judgment may it exercise in determining what it will do? The duty of guaranteeing carries with it the right to pass all laws necessary and proper to guarantee. The duty of guaranteeing means the duty to accomplish the result. It means that the republican government shall exist. It means that every opposition to republican government shall be put down. It means that everything inconsistent with the permanent continuance of republican government shall be weeded out. It places in the hands of Congress to say what is and what is not — with all the light of experience and all the lessons of the past — inconsistent, in its judgment, with the permanent continuance of republican government; and if, in its judgment, any form of policy is radically and inherently inconsistent with the permanent and enduring peace of the country, with the permanent supremacy of republican government — and it have the manliness to say so — there is no power, judicial or executive, in the United States that can even question this judgment of the people; and they can do it only by sending other Representatives here to undo our work. The very language of the Constitution, and the necessary logic of the case, involve that consequence. The denial of the right of secession means that all the territory of the United States shall remain under the jurisdiction of the Constitution. If there can be no State Government which does not recognize the Constitution, and which the authorities of the United States do not recognize, then there are these alternatives, and these only: the rebel States must be governed by Congress till they submit and form a State Government under the Constitution; or

Congress must recognize State Governments which do not recognize either Congress or the Constitution of the United States; or there must be an entire absence of all government in the rebel States — and that is anarchy. To recognize a Government which does not recognize the Constitution is absurd, for a Government is not a Constitution; and the recognition of a State Government means the acknowledgment of men as governors and legislators and judges, actually invested with power to make laws, to judge of crimes, to convict the citizens of other States, to demand the surrender of fugitives from justice, to arm and command the militia, to require the United States to repress all opposition to its authority, and to protect it against invasion — against our own armies; whose Senators and Representatives are entitled to seats in Congress, and whose electoral votes must be counted in the election of the President of a Government which they disown and defy. To accept the alternative of anarchy as the constitutional condition of a State is to assert the failure of the Constitution and the end of republican government. Until, therefore, Congress recognize a State Government, organized under its auspices, there is no Government in the rebel States except the authority of Congress. * * * When military opposition shall have been suppressed, not merely paralyzed, driven into a corner, pushed back, but gone, the horrid vision of civil war vanished from the South, then call upon the people to reorganize in their own way, subject to the conditions that we think essential to our permanent peace, and to prevent the revival hereafter of the rebellion — a republican government in the form that the people of the United States can agree to.

Now, for that purpose there are three modes indicated. One is to remove the cause of the war by an alteration of the Constitution of the United States, prohibiting slavery everywhere within its limits. That, sir, goes to the root of the matter, and should consecrate the nation's triumph. But there are thirty-four States; three-fourths of them would be twenty-six. I believe there are twenty-five States represented in this Congress; so that we on that basis cannot change the Constitution. It is, therefore, a condition precedent in that view of the case that more States shall have governments organized within them. If it be assumed that the basis of calculation shall be three-fourths of the States now represented in Congress, I agree to that construction of the Constitution. * * * But, under any circumstances, even upon that basis it will be difficult to find three-fourths of the States — with New Jersey, or Kentucky, or Maryland, or Delaware, or other States that might be mentioned, opposed to it, under existing auspices — to adopt such a clause of the Constitution after we shall have agreed to it. If adopted it still leaves all laws necessary to the ascertainment of the will of the people, and all restrictions on the return to power of the

leaders of the rebellion, wholly unprovided for. The amendment of the Constitution meets my hearty approval, but it is not a remedy for the evils we must deal with.

The next plan is that inaugurated by the President of the United States, in the proclamation of the eighth of December (1863), called the amnesty proclamation. That proposes no guardianship of the United States over the reorganization of the Governments, no law to prescribe who shall vote, no civil functionaries to see that the law is faithfully executed, no supervising authority to control and judge of the election. But if in any manner by the toleration of martial law, lately proclaimed the fundamental law, under the dictation of any military authority, or under the prescription of a provost marshal, something in the form of a Government shall be presented, represented to rest on the votes of one-tenth of the population, the President will recognize that, provided it does not contravene the proclamation of freedom and the laws of Congress; and to secure that an oath is exacted. There is no guaranty of law to watch over the organization of that Government. It may be recognized by the military power, and not recognized by the civil power, so that it would have a doubtful existence, half-civil and half-military, neither a temporary Government by law of Congress nor a State Government, something as unknown to the Constitution as the rebel Government that refuses to recognize it. The only prescription is that it shall not contravene the provisions of the proclamation. Sir, if that proclamation be valid, then we are relieved from all trouble on that score. But if that proclamation be not valid, then the oath to support it is without legal sanction, for the President can ask no man to bind himself by an oath to support an unfounded proclamation or an unconstitutional law even for a moment, still less after it shall have been declared void by the Supreme Court of the United States.

* * *

By the bill we propose to preclude the judicial question by the solution of a political question. How so? By the paramount power of Congress to reorganize Governments in those States, to impose such conditions as it thinks necessary to secure the permanence of republican government, to refuse to recognize any Governments there which do not prohibit slavery forever. Aye, gentlemen, take the responsibility to say in the face of those who clamor for the speedy recognition of Governments tolerating slavery, that the safety of the people of the United States is the supreme law; that their will is the supreme rule of law, and that we are authorized to pronounce their will on this subject. Take the responsibility to say that we will revise the judgments of our ancestors; that we have experience written in blood which they had not; that we find now what they darkly doubted, that slavery is really, radically inconsistent with the permanence of re-

publican governments; and that being charged by the supreme law of the land on our conscience and judgment to guarantee, that is to continue, maintain, and enforce, if it exist, to institute and restore, when overthrown, republican government throughout the broad limits of the republic, we will weed out every element of their policy which we think incompatible with its permanence and endurance. The purpose of the bill is to preclude the judicial question of the validity and effect of the President's proclamation by the decision of the political authority in reorganizing the State Governments. It makes the rule of decision the provisions of the State Constitution, which, when recognized by Congress, can be questioned in no court; and it adds to the authority of the proclamation the sanction of Congress. If gentlemen say that the Constitution does not bear that construction, we will go before the people of the United States on that question, and by their judgment we will abide.

(Delivered in the House of Representatives, March 22, 1864.)

The Mission of the Republic.

By WILLIAM HENRY SEWARD, of New York.

(Born 1801, died 1872.)

WE see only the rising of the sun of empire — only the fair seeds and beginnings of a great nation. Whether that glowing orb shall attain to a meridian height, or fall suddenly from its glorious sphere — whether those prolific seeds shall mature into autumnal ripeness, or shall perish, yielding no harvest — depends on God's will and providence. But God's will and providence operate not by casualty or caprice, but by fixed and revealed laws. If we would secure the greatness set before us, we must find the way which those laws indicate, and keep within it. That way is new and all untried. We departed early — we departed at the beginning — from the beaten track of national ambition. Our lot was cast in an age of revolution — a revolution which was to bring all mankind from a state of servitude to the exercise of self-government — from under the tyranny of physical force to the gentle sway of opinion — from under subjection to matter to dominion over nature.

It was ours to lead the way, to take up the cross of republicanism and bear it before the nations, to fight its earliest battles, to enjoy its earliest triumphs, to illustrate its purifying and elevating virtues, and by our courage and resolution, our moderation and our magnanimity, to cheer and sustain its future followers through the baptism of blood and the martyrdom of fire. A mission so noble and benevolent demands a generous and self-denying enthusiasm.

Our greatness is to be won by beneficence without ambition. We are in danger of losing that holy zeal. We are surrounded by temptations. Our dwellings become palaces, and our villages are transformed, as if by magic, into great cities. Fugitives from famine and oppression and the sword crowd our shores, and proclaim to us that we alone are free, and great, and happy. Ambition for martial fame and the lust of conquest have entered the warm, living, youthful heart of the Republic. Our empire enlarges. The castles of enemies fall before our advancing armies; the gates of cities open to receive them. The continent and its islands seem ready to fall within our grasp, and more than

even fabulous wealth opens under our feet. No public virtue can withstand, none ever encountered, such seductions as these. Our own virtue and moderation must be renewed and fortified under circumstances so new and peculiar.

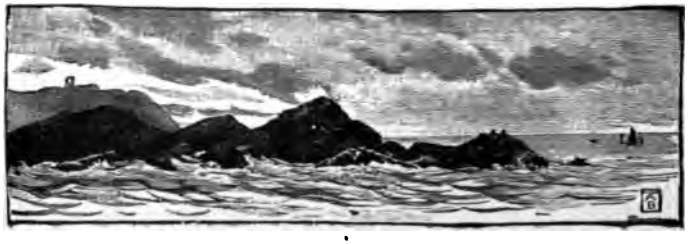
Where shall we seek the influence adequate to a task so arduous as this? Shall we invoke the press and the desk? They only reflect the actual condition of the public morals, and cannot change them.

Shall we resort to the executive authority? The time has passed when it could compose and modify the political elements around it. Shall we go to the Senate? Conspiracies, seditions, and corruptions, in all free countries, have begun there. Where, then, shall we go, to find an agency that can uphold and renovate declining public virtue? Where should we go, but there, where all republican virtue begins and must end — where the Promethean fire is ever to be rekindled, until it shall finally expire — where motives are formed and passions disciplined? — to the domestic fireside and humble school, where the American citizen is trained. Instruct him there, that it will not be enough that he can claim for his country Lacedæmonian heroism, or even the Italian's boast,—

"*Terra potens atque ubere glebae,*"—

but that more than Spartan valor and more than Roman magnificence is required of her. Go, then, ye laborers in a noble cause, gather the young Catholic and the young Protestant alike into the nursery of freedom; and teach them there that, although religion has many and different shrines on which may be made the offering of a "broken spirit," which God will not despise, yet that their country has appointed only one altar and one sacrifice for all her sons, and that ambition and avarice must be slain on that altar, for it is consecrated to humanity.

(Being part of an address.)



Impeachment of President Johnson.

By BENJAMIN F. BUTLER, of New Hampshire.
(Born 1818, died 1893.)

THE issue, then, finally, is this: that those utterances of his, in the manner and form in which they are alleged to have been made, and under the circumstances and at the time they were made, are decent and becoming the President of the United States, and do not tend to bring the office into ridicule and disgrace.

We accept the issues. They are two:

First. That he has the right to say what he did of Congress in the exercise of freedom of speech; and, second, that what he did say in those speeches was a highly gentlemanlike and proper performance in a citizen, and still more becoming in a President of the United States.

Let us first consider the graver matter of the assertion of the right to cast contumely upon Congress; to denounce it as a "body hanging on the verge of the Government;" "pretending to be a Congress when in fact it was not a Congress;" "a Congress pretending to be for the Union when its every step and act tended to perpetuate disunion," "and make a disruption of the States inevitable;" "a Congress in a minority assuming to exercise power which, if allowed to be consummated, would result in despotism and monarchy itself;" "a Congress which had done everything to prevent the union of the States;" "a Congress factious and domineering;" "a radical Congress, which gave origin to another rebellion;" "a Congress upon whose skirts was every drop of blood that was shed in the New Orleans riots."

You will find that these denunciations had a deeper meaning than mere expressions of opinion. It may be taken as an axiom in the affairs of nations that no usurper has ever seized upon the Legislature of his country until he has familiarized the people with the possibility of so doing by vituperating and decrying it. Denunciatory attacks upon the Legislature have always preceded, slanderous abuse of the individuals composing it have always accompanied, a seizure by a despot of the legislative power of a country.

BENJAMIN F. BUTLER.

Two memorable examples in modern history will spring to the recollection of every man. Before Cromwell drove out by the bayonet the Parliament of England, he and his partisans had denounced it, derided it, decried it, and defamed it, and thus brought it into ridicule and contempt. He vilified it with the same name which it is a significant fact the partisans of Johnson, by a concerted cry, applied to the Congress of the United States when he commenced his memorable pilgrimage and crusade against it. It is a still more significant fact that the justification made by Cromwell and by Johnson for setting aside the authority of Parliament and Congress, respectively, was precisely the same, to wit: That they were elected by part of the people only. When Cromwell, by his soldiers, finally entered the hall of Parliament to disperse its members, he attempted to cover the enormity of his usurpation by denouncing this man personally as a libertine, that as a drunkard, another as the betrayer of the liberties of the people. Johnson started out on precisely the same course, but, forgetting the parallel, too early he proclaims this patriot an assassin, that statesman a traitor; threatens to hang that man whom the people delight to honor, and breathes out "threatenings and slaughter" against this man whose services in the cause of human freedom has made his name a household word wherever the language is spoken. There is, however, an appreciable difference between Cromwell and Johnson, and there is a like difference in the results accomplished by each.

When Bonaparte extinguished the Legislature of France, he waited until, through his press and his partisans, and by his own denunciations, he brought its authority into disgrace and contempt; and when, finally, he drove the Council of the nation from their chamber, like Cromwell, he justified himself by personal abuse of the individuals themselves as they passed by him.

That the attempt of Andrew Johnson to overthrow Congress has failed, is because of the want of ability and power, not of malignity and will.

(From a speech delivered at the trial, March 30, 1868.)

The Fifteenth Amendment.

By FRANCIS P. BLAIR, of Virginia.

(Born 1791, died 1876.)

HAVE we a Federal Union on the constitutional basis? Are the States equal in political rights? Is the Central Government acting within constitutional limitations? What is this whole system of reconstruction, as it is called; this exclusion of States from their inherent and guaranteed rights. Taxation without representation, their fundamental laws set aside, the popular will suppressed, the right of suffrage taken from the States by a usurping fragment of Congress, the Federal Constitution itself changed in its character by the same usurping fragment, and, in defiance of the known and expressed will of the people, the Government is literally, practically subverted, and the paramount issue now is to bring back the Central Government to its legitimate powers, and the restoration of the States to their reserved and undoubted rights, instead of expending argument and effort on minor questions of expediency, touching the affairs of finance and free trade, questions which will become great and important when we shall have succeeded in rescuing the Government itself from the perils which threaten its existence. Democrats may honestly differ on these minor matters, and so may radicals. But on the subject of a consolidated empire or a Federal Union there can be no division among those who prefer the one or the other system.

If the central reconstruct them, displace the duly-elected authorities chosen by the people, and put others in their places by edicts to be executed by the military arm, then we are under a consolidated government without limitation of power. Such has been, and is, the action of Congress and of the administration of General Grant. * * *

The Senator has gone somewhat into the history of the Fifteenth Amendment, the rightful adoption of which is controverted by his State in the concurrent resolutions passed by the Legislature of Indiana, and which are now under consideration by the Senate. I shall also refer to some historical matters pertaining to that measure. I remember very well that the Congress which pro-

posed that amendment to the States failed to do so until the presidential election, and that their nominating convention, which sat in Chicago, held out the promise to the people that no such amendment should be proposed, declaring in emphatic terms that, while they claimed the right to regulate the suffrage by Congress in the States lately in revolt, the States that had not been in rebellion should have, and of right ought to have, the power to regulate suffrage for themselves. This was a trick to avoid an issue, which would have been fatal to them in the presidential election. But when, after the election, the party to which the Senator belongs had secured another lease of power, they then proposed to the States this amendment, refusing and voting down a proposition made, I think, in both houses of Congress, certainly in one of the houses, that the amendment should be submitted to Legislatures of the States, elected after the amendment was submitted by Congress to the States for ratification. This was promptly refused. They did not intend that the people should have anything to do with framing their own organic law. This measure, the Senator declares, had become "a political necessity" for his party, and could not be trusted to the people.

What further? The two Senators who sat here from my own State, neither of whom sit here now, voted for this amendment after the people of Missouri, in the election immediately preceding, had voted down negro suffrage by thirty thousand majority, and the Legislature, elected by that very vote, ratified the amendment, in defiance of this overwhelming expression of public sentiment.

A similar state of facts occurred in Kansas, where, in the election preceding, negro suffrage had been defeated by fifteen thousand majority. In the State of Ohio the majority against negro suffrage was fifty thousand, and yet her Republican Senators and Representatives, and her Republican Legislature, promptly disregarded the public will by proposing and ratifying this amendment. In the State of Michigan the people refused to give suffrage to the negroes by a majority of thirty-four thousand. Her Senators and Representatives were equally regardless of the wishes of their people, and hastened to fasten upon them an organic law for which they had proclaimed their detestation. I could go on and enumerate many more of the Northern States, in which the people had expressed their will with equal emphasis, and were treated with equal contempt by their Republican Senators and Representatives. Among the number were the States of New York, Connecticut, and New Jersey; and, indeed, I think that none of the Northern States can be excepted — not one!

Now, sir, I do not know a single Northern State outside of New England in which the people whenever the question has been submitted to them, have not rejected the proposition to allow negro suffrage; and yet these gentlemen hurried the matter through without a constitutional quorum in the State of the

FRANCIS P. BLAIR.

Senator from Indiana, and in my State, after the people had condemned it by thirty thousand majority six months previous, the radical Legislature adopted one-half of it on a telegram, not waiting to receive an official and authentic copy, such was their haste to show contempt for the popular will of the State.

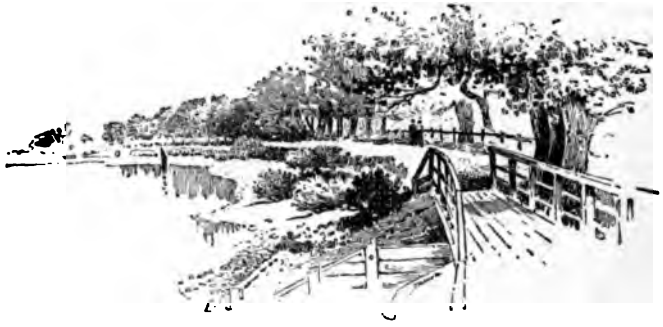
Then the question is raised by the State of Indiana in these resolutions in reference to the ratification of Virginia, Mississippi, Texas, and Georgia, without the ratification of which States the amendment was not adopted. If adopted at all, we have seen that it was adopted against the remonstrance of all the people of the North, and simply by coercion in the States of the South; and yet that amendment is now to be considered as one of those sacred things upon which no man must lay his hands. Because the perfidious representatives of the people have betrayed their trust and fixed a yoke upon their necks, they are not to wince when they are galled; and if some States, by a fraud obtaining the signatures of the presiding officers of the two Houses, enact into a law that which they had no right to enact, and contrary to the forms ordained in their own Constitution, we have no right to examine it or hold to proper accountability those who have committed fraud and perverted the forms of law to give effect to their crime.

Sir, if constitutional amendments can be adopted in that way we might well have constitutional amendments here that would create what the gentleman pretends so much to apprehend. If constitutional amendments can be adopted in this mode, against the remonstrance of the entire body of the people of the North, or a vast majority of them, as indicated by the facts to which I have referred, and which are not contradicted in the Senate, and cannot be contradicted, why may we not soon have one declared adopted which provides for a President and Senate for life, and why may not other aristocratic and monarchical institutions be fixed upon us by coercing these carpet-bag States, or, in the congressional slang, requiring them to adopt another fundamental condition, and by misrepresenting and defying the will of the people in the States of the North? And then we shall be told, in the language of the Senator, that we have no right to say a word; we have no right even to expose the perfidy by which the people have been betrayed; and we shall be denounced as revolutionists if we do.

This is no idle apprehension. Each day ushers in some new and monstrous usurpation of power on the part of the dominant party. One aggression is but the stepping-stone of another. The indignation excited by each successive infringement of the rights of the people is a pretext for still further encroachments. The plea of "political necessity," by which the Senator justifies the adoption of the Fifteenth Amendment, is always ready, and has become the

law of the existence of that party which, having forfeited the confidence of the people, is now compelled to retain power by fraud and force. Hence the bill to employ the Army to enforce the Fifteenth Amendment, which has grown out of that measure, and the bill now pending in the other House enlarging the powers of the President for the same purpose. It is the fungus growth from a rotten system, more poisonous than that which produced it.

(From a speech in the United States Senate, February 15, 1871.)



Abraham Lincoln.

By FREDERICK DOUGLASS, of Maryland.

(Born 1817, died 1895.)

I HAVE been down there to see the President; and as you were not there, perhaps you may like to know how the President of the United States received a black man at the White House. I will tell you how he received me — just as you have seen one gentleman receive another;" (great applause) "with a hand and a voice well-balanced between a kind cordiality and a respectful reserve. I tell you I felt big there." (Laughter.) "Let me tell you how I got to him; because everybody can't get to him. He has to be a little guarded in admitting spectators. The manner of getting to him gave me an idea that the cause was rolling on. The stairway was crowded with applicants. Some of them looked eager; and I have no doubt some of them had a purpose in being there, and wanted to see the President for the good of the country. They were white; and as I was the only dark spot among them, I expected to have to wait at least half a day; I had heard of men waiting a week; but in two minutes after I sent in my card, the messenger came out, and respectfully invited 'Mr. Douglass' in. I could hear, in the eager multitude outside as they saw me pressing and elbowing my way through, the remark, 'yes, d—n it, I knew they would let the nigger through,' in a kind of despairing voice — a Peace Democrat, I suppose." (Laughter.) "When I went in, the President was sitting in his usual position, I was told, with his feet in different parts of the room, taking it easy." (Laughter.) "Don't put this down, Mr. Reporter, I pray you; for I am going down there again to-morrow." (Laughter.) "As I came in and approached him, the President began to rise," (laughter) "and he continued rising, until he stood over me;" (laughter) "and reaching out his hand, he said, 'Mr. Douglass, I know you; I have read about you, and Mr. Seward has told me about you;' putting me quite at ease at once.

"Now, you will want to know how I was impressed by him. I will tell you that, too. He impressed me as being just what every one of you have been in the habit of calling him — an honest man." (Applause.) "I have never

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met with a man who, on the first blush, impressed me more entirely with his sincerity, with his devotion to his country, and with his determination to save it at all hazards." (Applause.) "He told me (I think he did me more honor than I deserve), that I had made a little speech somewhere in New York, and it had got into the papers, and among the things I had said was this: that if I were called upon to state what I regarded as the most sad and most disheartening features in our present political and military situation, it would not be the various disasters experienced by our armies and our navies, on flood and field, but it would be the tardy, hesitating, vacillating policy of the President of the United States. And the President said to me, 'Mr. Douglass, I have been charged with being tardy, and the like;' and he went on, and partly admitted that he might seem slow; but he said: 'I am charged with vacillating; but, Mr. Douglass, I do not think that charge can be sustained; I think it cannot be shown that when I have once taken a position I have ever retreated from it.'" (Applause.) "That I regarded as the most significant point in what he said during our interview. I told him that he had been somewhat slow in proclaiming equal protection to our colored soldiers and prisoners; and he said that the country needed talking up to that point. He hesitated in regard to it, when he felt that the country was not ready for it. He knew that the colored man throughout this country was a despised man, a hated man, and that if he at first came out with such a proclamation, all the hatred which is poured on the head of the negro race would be visited on his administration. He said that there was preparatory work needed, and that that preparatory work had now been done. And he said, 'Remember this, Mr. Douglass; remember that Milliken's Bend, Port Hudson, and Fort Wagner are recent events; and that these were necessary to prepare the way for this very proclamation of mine.' I thought it was reasonable, but came to the conclusion that while Abraham Lincoln will not go down to posterity as Abraham the Great, or as Abraham the Wise, or as Abraham the Eloquent, although he is all three — wise, great, and eloquent, he will go down to posterity, if the country is saved, as Honest Abraham;" (applause) "and going down thus, his name may be written anywhere in this wide world of ours, side by side with that of Washington, without disparaging the latter." (Renewed applause.)

(Delivered in Philadelphia in 1863.)

The Remonetization of Silver.

By JAMES G. BLAINE, of Maine.
(Born 1830, died 1893.)

THE discussion on the question of remonetizing silver, Mr. President, has been prolonged, able, and exhaustive. I may not expect to add much to its value, but I promise not to add much to its length. I shall endeavor to consider facts rather than theories, to state conclusions rather than arguments:

First. I believe gold and silver coin to be the money of the Constitution — indeed, the money of the American people anterior to the Constitution, which that great organic law recognized as quite independent of its own existence. No power was conferred on Congress to declare that either metal should not be money. Congress has, therefore, in my judgment, no power to demonetize silver any more than to demonetize gold; no power to demonetize either any more than to demonetize both. In this statement I am but repeating the weighty dictum of the first of constitutional lawyers. "I am certainly of opinion," said Mr. Webster, "that gold and silver, at rates fixed by Congress, constitute the legal standard of value in this country, and that neither Congress nor any State has authority to establish any other standard or to displace this standard." Few persons can be found, I apprehend, who will maintain that Congress possesses the power to demonetize both gold and silver, or that Congress could be justified in prohibiting the coinage of both; and yet in logic and legal construction it would be difficult to show where and why the power of Congress over silver is greater than over gold — greater over either than over the two. If, therefore, silver has been demonetized, I am in favor of remonetizing it. If its coinage has been prohibited, I am in favor of ordering it to be resumed. If it has been restricted, I am in favor of having it enlarged.

Second. What power, then, has Congress over gold and silver? It has the exclusive power to coin them; the exclusive power to regulate their value; very great, very wise, very necessary powers, for the discreet exercise of which a critical occasion has now arisen. However men may differ about causes and processes, all will admit that within a few years a great disturbance has taken

place in the relative values of gold and silver, and that silver is worth less or gold is worth more in the money markets of the world in 1878 than in 1873, when the further coinage of silver dollars was prohibited in this country. To remonetize it now as though the facts and circumstances of that day were surrounding us, is to willfully and blindly deceive ourselves. If our demonetization were the only cause for the decline in the value of silver, then remonetization would be its proper and effectual cure. But other causes, quite beyond our control, have been far more potentially operative than the simple fact of Congress prohibiting its further coinage; and as legislators we are bound to take cognizance of these causes. The demonetization of silver in the great German Empire and the consequent partial, or well-nigh complete, suspension of coinage in the Governments of the Latin Union, have been the leading dominant causes for the rapid decline in the value of silver. I do not think the over-supply of silver has had, in comparison with these other causes, an appreciable influence in the decline of its value, because its over-supply with respect to gold in these later years, has not been nearly so great as was the over-supply of gold with respect to silver for many years after the mines of California and Australia were opened; and the over-supply of gold from those rich sources did not affect the relative positions and uses of the two metals in any European country.

I believe then if Germany were to remonetize silver and the Kingdoms and States of the Latin Union were to reopen their mints, silver would at once resume its former relation with gold. The European countries when driven to full remonetization, as I believe they will be, must of necessity adopt their old ratio of fifteen and a half of silver to one of gold, and we shall then be compelled to adopt the same ratio instead of our former sixteen to one. For if we fail to do this we shall, as before, lose our silver, which like all things else seeks the highest market; and if fifteen and a half pounds of silver will buy as much gold in Europe as sixteen pounds will buy in America, the silver, of course, will go to Europe. But our line of policy in a joint movement with other nations to remonetize is very simple and very direct. The difficult problem is what we shall do when we aim to re-establish silver without the co-operation of European powers, and really as an advance movement to coerce them there into the same policy. Evidently the first dictate of prudence is to coin such a dollar, as will not only do justice among our citizens at home, but will prove a protection — an absolute barricade — against the gold monometallists of Europe, who, whenever the opportunity offers, will quickly draw from us the one hundred and sixty millions of gold coin still in our midst. And if we coin a silver dollar of full legal tender, obviously below the current value

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of the gold dollar, we are opening wide our doors and inviting Europe to take our gold. And with our gold flowing out from us we are forced to the single silver standard and our relations with the leading commercial countries of the world are at once embarrassed and crippled.

Third. The question before Congress then — sharply defined in the pending House bill — is, whether it is now safe and expedient to offer free coinage to the silver dollar of four hundred and twelve and one-half grains, with the mints of the Latin Union closed and Germany not permitting silver to be coined as money. At current rates of silver, the free coinage of a dollar containing four hundred and twelve and one-half grains, worth in gold about ninety-two cents, gives an illegitimate profit to the owner of the bullion, enabling him to take ninety-two cents' worth of it to the mint and get it stamped as coin and force his neighbor to take it for a full dollar. This is an undue and unfair advantage which the Government has no right to give to the owner of silver bullion, and which defrauds the man who is forced to take the dollar. And it assuredly follows that if we give free coinage to this dollar of inferior value and put it in circulation, we do so at the expense of our better coinage in gold; and unless we expect the uniform and invariable experience of other nations to be in some mysterious way suspended for our peculiar benefit, we inevitably lose our gold coin. It will flow out from us with the certainty and resistless force of the tides. * * *

Fifth. The responsibility of re-establishing silver in its ancient and honorable place as money in Europe and America, devolves really on the Congress of the United States. If we act here with prudence, wisdom, and firmness, we shall not only successfully remonetize silver and bring it into general use as money in our own country, but the influence of our example will be potential among all European nations, with the possible exception of England. Indeed, our annual indebtment to Europe is so great that if we have the right to pay it in silver we necessarily coerce those nations by the strongest of all forces, self-interest, to aid us in upholding the value of silver as money. But if we attempt the remonetization on a basis which is obviously and notoriously below the fair standard of value as it now exists, we incur all the evil consequences of failure at home and the positive certainty of successful opposition abroad. We are and shall be the greatest producers of silver in the world, and we have a larger stake in its complete monetization than any other country. The difference to the United States between the general acceptance of silver as money in the commercial world and its destruction as money, will possibly equal within the next half-century the entire bonded debt of the nation. But to gain this advantage we must make it actual money —

the accepted equal of gold in the markets of the world. Remonetization here followed by general remonetization in Europe will secure to the United States the most stable basis for its currency that we have ever enjoyed, and will effectually aid in solving all the problems by which our financial situation is surrounded.

Sixth. On the much-vexed and long-mooted question of a bimetallic or monometallic standard my own views are sufficiently indicated in the remarks I have made. I believe the struggle now going on in this country and in other countries for a single gold standard would, if successful, produce widespread disaster in the end throughout the commercial world. The destruction of silver as money and establishing gold as the sole unit of value must have a ruinous effect on all forms of property except those investments which yield a fixed return in money. These would be enormously enhanced in value, and would gain a disproportionate and unfair advantage over every other species of property. If, as the most reliable statistics affirm, there are nearly seven thousand millions of coin or bullion in the world, not very unequally divided between gold and silver, it is impossible to strike silver out of existence as money without results which will prove distressing to millions and utterly disastrous to tens of thousands. Alexander Hamilton, in his able and invaluable report in 1791 on the establishment of a mint, declared that "to annul the use of either gold or silver as money is to abridge the quantity of circulating medium, and is liable to all the objections which arise from a comparison of the benefits of a full circulation with the evils of a scanty circulation." I take no risk in saying that the benefits of a full circulation and the evils of a scanty circulation are both immeasurably greater to-day than they were when Mr. Hamilton uttered these weighty words, always provided that the circulation is one of actual money, and not of depreciated promises to pay. * * *

Seventh. The question of beginning anew the coinage of silver dollars has aroused much discussion as to its effect on the public credit; and the Senator from Ohio (Mr. Matthews) placed this phase of the subject in the very forefront of the debate — insisting, prematurely and illogically, I think, on a sort of judicial construction in advance, by concurrent resolution, of a certain law in case that law should happen to be passed by Congress. My own view on this question can be stated very briefly. I believe the public creditor can afford to be paid in any silver dollar that the United States can afford to coin and circulate. We have forty thousand millions of property in this country, and a wise self-interest will not permit us to overturn its relations by seeking for an inferior dollar wherewith to settle the dues and demands of any creditor. The question might be different from a merely selfish stand-

point if, on paying the dollar to the public creditor, it would disappear after performing that function. But the trouble is that the inferior dollar you pay the public creditor remains in circulation, to the exclusion of the better dollar. That which you pay at home will stay there; that which you send abroad will come back. The interest of the public creditor is indissolubly bound up with the interest of the whole people. Whatever affects him affects us all; and the evil that we might inflict upon him by paying an inferior dollar would recoil upon us with a vengeance as manifold as the aggregate wealth of the Republic transcends the comparatively small limits of our bonded debt. * * *

But I must say, Mr. President, that the specific demand for the payment of our bonds in gold coin and in nothing else, comes with an ill grace from certain quarters. European criticism is leveled against us and hard names are hurled at us across the ocean, for simply daring to state that the letter of our law declares the bonds to be payable in standard coin of July 14, 1870; expressly and explicitly declared so, and declared so in the interest of the public creditor, and the declaration inserted in the very body of the eight hundred million of bonds that have been issued since that date. Beyond all doubt the silver dollar was included in the standard coins of that public act. Payment at that time would have been as acceptable and as undisputed in silver as in gold dollars, for both were equally valuable in the European as well as in the American market. Seven-eighths of all our bonds, owned out of the country, are held in Germany and in Holland, and Germany has demonetized silver and Holland has been forced thereby to suspend its coinage, since the subjects of both powers purchased our securities. The German Empire, the very year after we made our specific declaration for paying our bonds in coin, passed a law destroying so far as lay in their power the value of silver as money. I do not say that it was specially aimed at this country, but it was passed regardless of its effect upon us, and was followed, according to public and undenied statement, by a large investment on the part of the German Government in our bonds, with a view, it was understood, of holding them as a coin reserve for drawing gold from us to aid in establishing their gold standard at home. Thus, by one move the German Government destroyed, so far as lay in its power, the then existing value of silver as money, enhanced consequently the value of gold, and then got into position to draw gold from us at the moment of their need, which would also be the moment of our own sorest distress. * * *

The effect of paying the labor of this country in silver coin of full value, as compared with the irredeemable paper or as compared even with silver of inferior value, will make itself felt in a single generation to the extent of tens

of millions, perhaps hundreds of millions, in the aggregate savings which represent consolidated capital. It is the instinct of man from the savage to the scholar — developed in childhood and remaining with age — to value the metals which in all tongues are called precious. Excessive paper money leads to extravagance, to waste, and to want, as we painfully witness on all sides to-day. And in the midst of the proof of its demoralizing and destructive effect, we hear it proclaimed in the Halls of Congress that "the people demand cheap money." I deny it. I declare such a phrase to be a total misapprehension, a total misinterpretation of the popular wish. The people do not demand cheap money. They demand an abundance of good money, which is an entirely different thing. They do not want a single gold standard that will exclude silver and benefit those already rich. They do not want an inferior silver standard that will drive out gold and not help those already poor. They want both metals, in full value, in equal honor, in whatever abundance the bountiful earth will yield them to the searching eye of science and to the hard hand of labor.

The two metals have existed side by side in harmonious, honorable companionship as money, ever since intelligent trade was known among men. It is well-nigh forty centuries since "Abraham weighed to Ephron the silver which he had named in the audience of the sons of Heth — four hundred shekels of silver — current money with the merchant." Since that time nations have risen and fallen, races have disappeared, dialects and languages have been forgotten, arts have been lost, treasures have perished, continents have been discovered, islands have been sunk in the sea, and through all these ages and through all these changes, silver and gold have reigned supreme, as the representatives of value, as the media of exchange. The dethronement of each has been attempted in turn, and sometimes the dethronement of both; but always in vain. And we are here to-day, deliberating anew over the problem which comes down to us from Abraham's time: the *weight of the silver* that shall be "current money with the merchant."

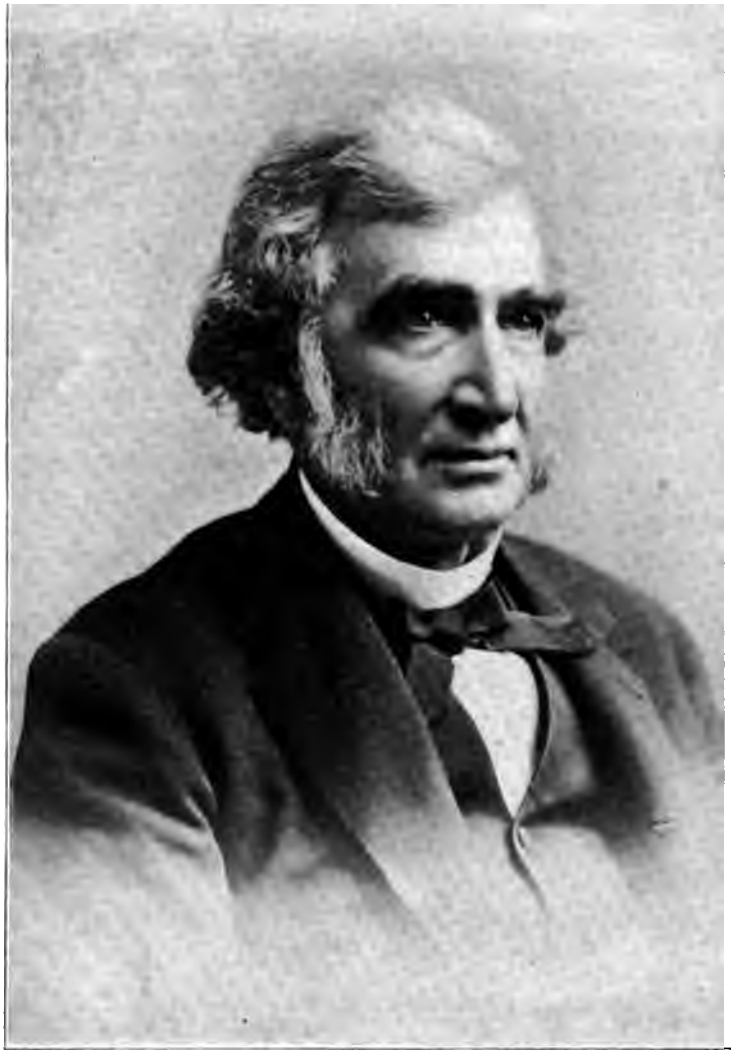
(Delivered in the United States Senate, February 7, 1878.)

The Remonetization of Silver.

By JUSTIN S. MORRILL, of Vermont.
(Born 1810, died 1898.)

MR. PRESIDENT, the bill now before the Senate provides for the resuscitation of the obsolete dollar of four hundred and twelve and one-half grains of silver, which Congress entombed in 1834 by an act which diminished the weight of gold coins to the extent of six and six-tenths per cent., and thus bade a long farewell to silver. It is to be a dollar made of metal worth now fifty-three and five-eighths pence per ounce, or ten cents less in value than a gold dollar, and on January 23d, awkwardly enough, worth eight and three-fourths cents less than a dollar in greenbacks, gold being only one and one-quarter per cent. premium, but, nevertheless, to be a legal tender for all debts, public and private, except where otherwise provided by contract. The words seem to be aptly chosen to override and annul whatever now may be otherwise provided by law. Beyond this, as the bill came from the House, the holders of silver bullion — not the Government or the whole people — were to have all the profits of coinage and the Government all of the expense. * * *

The bill, if it becomes a law, must at the very threshold arrest the resumption of specie payments, for, were the holders of United States notes suddenly willing to exchange them for much less than their present value, payment even in silver is to be postponed indefinitely. For years United States notes have been slowly climbing upward, but now they are to have a sudden plunge downward, and in every incompleted contract, great and small, the robbery of Peter to pay Paul is to be foreordained. The whole measure looks to me like a fearful assault upon the public credit. The losses it will inflict upon the holders of paper money and many others will be large, and if the bill, without further radical amendments, obtains the approval of the Senate, it will give the death-blow to the cardinal policy of the country, which now seeks a large reduction of the rate of interest upon our national debt. Even that portion now held abroad will come back in a stampede to be exchanged for gold at any sacrifice. The ultimate result would be, when the supply for customs



JUSTIN S. MORRILL.

shall have been coined and the first effervescence has passed away, the emission of silver far below the standard of gold; and when the people become tired of it, disgusted or ruined by its instability, as they soon would be, a fresh clamor may be expected for the remonetization of gold, and another clipping or debasing of gold coins may follow to bring them again into circulation on the basis of silver equivalency. In this slippery descent there can be no stopping place. The consoling philosophy of the silver commission may then be repealed, that a fall in the value of either or both of the metals is a "benefaction to mankind." If that were true, then copper, being more abundant and of lower value, should be used in preference to either gold or silver. The gravity of these questions will not be disputed. * * *

If any have silver to sell it is comparatively a small matter, and yet we earnestly desire that they may obtain for it the highest as well as the most stable price; but not at the expense of corn, cotton, and wheat; and it is to be hoped, if any have debts to meet now or hereafter, that they may meet them with the least inconvenience consistent with plain, downright integrity; but, from being led astray by the loud declamations of those who earn nothing themselves and know no trade but spoliation of the earnings of others, let them heartily say, "Good Lord, deliver us." * * *

A stupid charge, heretofore, in the front of debate, has been made, and wickedly repeated in many places, that the Coinage Act of 1873 was secretly and clandestinely engineered through Congress without proper consideration or knowledge of its contents; but it is to be noted that this charge had its birth and growth years after the passage of the act, and not until after the fall of silver. Long ago it was declared by one of the old Greek dramatists that, "No lie ever grows old." This one is as fresh and boneless now as at its birth, and is, therefore, swallowed with avidity by those to whom such food is nutritious or by those who have no appetite for searching the documents and records for facts. Whether the act itself was right or wrong does not depend upon the degradation of Congress implied in the original charge. Interested outsiders may glory in libeling Congress, but why should its own members? The act may be good and Congress bad, and yet it is to be hoped that the latter has not fallen to the level of its traducers. But there has been no fall of Congress; only a fall of silver. To present the abundant evidence showing that few laws were ever more openly proposed, year after year, and squarely understood than the Coinage Act of 1873, will require but a moment. It had been for years elaborately considered and reported upon by the Deputy Comptroller of the Currency. The special attention of Congress was called to the bill and the report by the Secretary of the Treasury in his annual reports for

1870, 1871, and 1872, where the "new features" of the bill, "discontinuing the coinage of the silver dollar," were fully set forth. The extensive correspondence of the Department had been printed in relation to the proposed bill, and widely circulated. The bill was separately printed eleven times, and twice in reports of the Deputy Comptroller of the Currency,— thirteen times in all,— and so printed by order of Congress. A copy of the printed bill was many times on the table of every Senator, and I now have all of them here before me in large type. It was considered at much length by the appropriate committees of both Houses of Congress; and the debates at different times upon the bill in the Senate filled sixty-six columns of the *Globe*, and in the House seventy-eight columns of the *Globe*. No argus-eyed debater objected by any amendment to the discontinuance of the silver dollar. In substance the bill twice passed each House, and was finally agreed upon and reported by a very able and trustworthy committee of conference, where Mr. Sherman, Mr. Scott, and Mr. Bayard appeared on the part of the Senate. * * *

The gold standard, it may confidently be asserted, is practically far cheaper than that of silver. I do not insist upon having the gold standard, but if we are to have but one, I think that the best. The expense of maintaining a metallic currency is of course greater than that of paper; but it must be borne in mind that a paper currency is only tolerable when convertible at the will of the holder into coin — and no one asks for more than that. A metallic currency is also subject to considerable loss by abrasion or the annual wear; and it is quite important to know which metal — gold or silver — can be most cheaply supported. A careful examination of the subject conclusively shows that the loss is nearly in proportion to the length of time coins have been in circulation, and to the amount of surface exposed, although small coins, being handled with less care, suffer most. The well-ascertained result is that it costs from fifteen to twenty-five times more to keep silver afloat than it does to maintain the same amount in gold. To sustain the silver standard would annually cost about one per cent. for abrasion; but that of gold would not exceed one-twentieth of one per cent. This is a troublesome charge, forever to bristle up in the pathway of a silver standard. It must also be borne in mind that the mint cost of coining silver is many times greater than that of the same amount in gold. More than sixteen tons of silver are required as the equivalent of one ton of gold. As a cold matter of fact, silver is neither the best nor the cheapest standard. It is far dearer to plant and forever dearer to maintain.

A double standard put forth by us on the terms now proposed by the commission or by the House bill would be so only in name. The perfect dual ideal of theorists, based upon an exact equilibrium of values, cannot be realized

while the intrinsic value of either of the component parts is overrated or remains a debatable question and everywhere more or less open to suspicion. A standard of value linked to the changing fortunes of two metals instead of one, when combined with an existing disjointed and all-pervading confusion in the ratio of value, must necessarily be linked to the hazard of double perturbations and become an alternating standard in perpetual motion.

The bimetallic scheme, with silver predominant — largely everywhere else suspended, if not repudiated — is pressed upon us now with a ratio that will leave nothing in circulation but silver, as a profitable mode of providing a new and cheaper way of pinching and paying the national debt; but a mode which would leave even a possible cloud upon our national credit should find neither favor nor tolerance among a proud and independent people.

The proposition is openly and squarely made to pay the public debt at our option in whichever metal, gold or silver, happens to be cheapest, and chiefly for the reason that silver already happens to be at ten per cent. the cheapest. In 1873, to have paid the debt in silver would have cost three per cent. more than to have paid it in gold, and then there was no unwillingness on the part of the present non-contents to pay in gold. Silver was worth more then to sell than to pay on debts. No one then pulled out the hair of his head to cure grief for the disappearance of the nominal silver option. Since that time it has been and would be now cheaper nominally to pay in silver if we had it; and, therefore, we are urged to repudiate our former action and to claim the power to resume an option already once supposed to have been profitably exercised, of which the world was called upon to take notice, and to pay in silver to-day or to let it alone to-morrow. I know that the detestable doctrine of Machiavelli was that "a prudent prince ought not to keep his word except when he can do it without injury to himself;" but the Bible teaches a different doctrine, and honoreth him "who sweareth to his own hurt and changeth not." If we would not multiply examples of individual financial turpitude, already painfully numerous, we must not trample out conscience and sound morality from the monetary affairs of the nation. The "option" about which we should be most solicitous was definitely expressed by Washington when he said: "There is an option left to the United States whether they will be respectable and prosperous or contemptible and miserable as a nation." Our national self-respect would not be increased when Turkey, as a debt-paying nation, shall be held as our equal and Mexico as our superior. The credit of a great nation cannot even be discussed without some loss; it cannot even be tempted by the devious advantages of legal technicalities without bringing some sense of shame; but to live, it must go. like chastity, unchallenged and unsuspected. * * *

The argument relied upon in favor of a bimetallic standard as against a monometallic seems to be that a single-metal standard leaves out one-half of the world's resources; but the same thing must occur with a bimetallic standard unless the metals can be placed and kept in a state of exact equilibrium, or so that nothing can be gained by the exchange of one for the other. Hitherto this has been an unattainable perfection. A law fixing the ratio of sixteen or fifteen and one-half of silver to one of gold, as proposed by different members of the Commission, would now be a gross over-valuation of silver and wholly exclude gold from circulation. It will hardly be disputed that the two metals cannot circulate together unless they are mutually convertible without profit or loss at the ratio fixed at the mint. But it is here proposed to start silver with a large legal-tender advantage above its market value, and with the probability, through further depreciation, of increasing that advantage by which the monometallic standard of silver will be ordained and confirmed. The argument in behalf of a double standard is double-tongued, when in fact nothing is intended, or can be the outcome, but a simple silver standard. The argument would wed silver and gold, but the conditions which follow amount to a decree of perpetual divorcement. Enforce the measure by legislation, and gold would at once flee out of the country. Like liberty, gold never stays where it is undervalued.

No approach to a bimetallic currency of uniform and fixed value can be possible, as it appears to me, without the co-operation of the leading commercial nations. Even with that co-operation its accomplishment and permanence may not be absolutely certain, unless the late transcendent fickleness of the supply and demand subsides, or unless the ratio of value can be adjusted with more consummate accuracy than has hitherto been found by any single nation to be practicable. * * *

I have failed of my purpose if I have not shown that there has been so large an increase of the stock of silver as of itself to effect a positive reduction of its value; and that this result has been confirmed and made irreversible by the new and extensive European disuse of silver coinage. I have indicated the advisability of obtaining the co-operation of other leading nations, in fixing upon a common ratio of value between gold and silver, before embarking upon a course of independent action from which there could be no retreat. I have also attempted to show that, even in the lowest pecuniary sense of profit, the Government of the United States could not be the gainer by proposing to pay either the public debt or the United States notes in silver; that such a payment would violate public pledges as to the whole, and violates existing statutes as to all that part of the debt contracted since 1870, and for

which gold has been received; that the remonetization of silver means the banishment of gold and our degradation among nations to the second or third rank; that it would be a sweeping ten per cent. reduction of all duties upon imports, requiring the imposition of new taxes to that extent; that it would prevent the further funding of the public debt at a lower rate of interest and give to the present holders of our six per cent. bonds a great advantage; that, instead of aiding resumption, it would only inflate a currency already too long depreciated, and consign it to a still lower deep; that, instead of being a tonic to spur idle capital once more into activity, it would be its bane, destructive of all vitality; and that as a permanent silver standard it would not only be void of all stability, and the dearest in its introduction and maintenance, but that it would reduce the wages of labor to the full extent of the difference there might be between its purchasing power and that of gold.

(Delivered in the United States Senate, January 28, 1878.)

The Chinese Question.

By JAMES G. BLAINE, of Maine.
(Born 1830, died 1893.)

STILL the wonder grows with me that if the aggregate immigration is so small and will remain so small, as my colleague states, he should still have thought and have voted that they ought not to be citizens, and could not be safely trusted with the elective franchise. All that my honorable colleague has said makes me wonder still more at that vote, although, as I state, I would have given the same vote with him, but I would have given it on entirely different considerations and with an entirely different view. I am sure, even if I repeat myself in so saying, that no gentleman can justify all the responsibilities of making the immigrants citizens of the United States, because we cannot continue to expose the Pacific coast to that immigration with a non-voting class largely outnumbering the voting class.

The Senator from Ohio (Mr. Matthews) made light of the race trouble. I supposed if there be any part of the world where a man would not make light of a race trouble it was the United States. I supposed if there were any people in the world that had a race trouble on hand it was the American people. I supposed if the admonitions of our own history were anything to us, we should regard the race trouble as the one thing to be dreaded, the one thing to be avoided. We are not through with it yet. It has cost us a great many lives; it has cost us a great many millions of treasure. Does any man feel that we are safely through with it now? Does any man here to-day assume that we have so entirely solved and settled all the troubles growing out of the negro race trouble that we are prepared to invite a similar one? If so, he learns a lesson from history which I have not been taught. If any gentleman, looking into the future of this country, sees, for certain sections of it at least, peace and good order and absolute freedom from any trouble growing out of race, he sees with more sanguine vision than mine. With this trouble already upon us, it would, in my judgment, be the last degree of recklessness deliberately to invite or permit another and possibly a far more serious one to be thrust upon us.

Treat them like Christians, my colleague says; and yet I believe the Christian testimony from the Pacific coast is that the conversion of Chinese is largely a failure; that the demoralization of the white race is a much more rapid result of the contact than the conversion of the Chinese race, and that up to this time there has been little progress made in the one direction while much evil has been done in the other. I heard the honorable Senator from California, who sits on this side of the Chamber (Mr. Booth), say that there is not, as we understand it, in all the one hundred and twenty thousand Chinese (whether I state the exact number does not matter in this point of view), there does not exist among the whole of them the relation of family. There is not a peasant's cottage inhabited by a Chinaman; there is not a hearthstone, as it is found and cherished in an American home, or an English home, or a German home, or a French home. There is not a domestic fireside in that sense; and yet you say that it is entirely safe to sit down and quietly permit that mode of life to be fastened upon our country. A half-century ago this question could not have been made a practical one. Means of communication, ease of access, cheapness of transportation, have changed the issue, and forced it upon our attention. I believe now that if the Congress of the United States should in effect confirm the treaty and the status of immigration as it now is, law and order could not be maintained in California without the interposition of the military five years hence. Do I overstate that?

Mr. SARGENT.— I am sorry to say that I think the Senator does not overstate it.

Mr. BLAINE.— I do not justify the brutality of the treatment of those Chinese who are here. That is greatly to be regretted and greatly to be condemned. But you must deal with things as you find them. If you foresee a conflict upon that coast by reason of an immigration that calls for the interposition of the military, I think it is a great deal wiser and more direct way to avoid the trouble by preventing the immigration.

I have heard much of late about their cheap labor. I do not myself believe in cheap labor. I do not believe cheap labor should be an object of legislation, and it cannot be in a republic. The wealthy classes in a republic where suffrage is universal cannot safely legislate for cheap labor. I repeat it. The wealthy classes in a republic where suffrage is universal must not legislate in favor of cheap labor. Labor should not be cheap, and it should not be dear; it should have its share, and it will have its share. There is not a laborer on the Pacific coast to-day — I say that to my honorable colleague whose whole life has been consistent and uniform in defense and advocacy of the interests of the laboring classes — there is not a laboring man on the Pacific coast to-day

who does not feel wounded and grieved by the competition that comes from this immigration. Then the answer is, "But are not American laborers equal to Chinese laborers?" I answer that question by another. Were not free white American laborers equal to African slaves in the South? When you tell me that the Chinaman driving out the free American laborer only proves the superiority of the Chinaman, I ask you if the African slave driving out the free white labor from the South proved the superiority of slave labor? The conditions are not unlike: the parallel is not complete; and yet it is a parallel.

Chinese labor is servile labor. It is not free labor such as we intend to develop and encourage and build up in this country. It is labor that comes here under a mortgage. It is labor that comes here to subsist on what the American laborer cannot subsist on. You cannot work a man who must have beef and bread, and would like beer, in competition with a man who can live on rice. In all such conflicts and in all such struggles the result is not to bring up the man who lives on rice to the beef and bread standard. Slave labor degraded free labor. It took out its respectability; it put an odious caste upon it. It throttled the prosperity of one of the fairest portions of the Union; and a worse than slave labor will throttle and impair the prosperity of a still finer and fairer section of the Union. We can choose here to-day whether our legislation shall be in the interest of the American free laborer or in favor of the servile laborer from China.

(From a speech delivered in the United States Senate, February 14, 1879.)

The Army Bill.

By ROSCOE CONKLING, of New York.
(Born 1829, died 1888.)

THE election law came in to correct abuses which reached their climax in 1868 in the city of New York. In that year, in the State of New York, the Republican candidate for Governor was elected; the Democratic candidate was counted in. Members of the Legislature were fraudulently seated. The election was a barbarous burlesque. Many thousand forged naturalization papers were issued; some of them were white and some were coffee-colored. The same witnesses purported to attest hundreds and thousands of naturalization affidavits, and the stupendous fraud of the whole thing was and is an open secret. Some of these naturalization papers were sent to other States. So plenty were they that some of them were sent to Germany, and Germans who had never left their country claimed exemption from the German draft for soldiers in the Franco-Prussian War, because they were naturalized American citizens. * * *

I say thousands of men voted upon fraudulent naturalization papers. But all this was tame and paltry compared with other enormities. The city of New York was redistricted from time to time — sometimes so districted as to bisect blocks, and denizens of the same building could vote in different election precincts. In some cases the Democratic majority was larger than the whole number of men, women, children, horses, cats and dogs in the district, and I speak not in rhetorical figures, but in Arabic figures.

Repeating, ballot-box stuffing, ruffianism and false counting decided everything. Tweed made the election officers, and the election officers were corrupt. In 1868 thirty thousand votes were falsely added to the Democratic majority in the cities of New York and Brooklyn alone. Taxes and elections were the mere spoil and booty of a corrupt junta in Tammany Hall. Assessments, exactions, and exemptions were made the bribes and the penalties of political submission. Usurpation and fraud inaugurated a carnival of corrupt disorder; and obscene birds without number swooped down to the harvest and gorged them-

ROSCOE CONKLING.

selves on every side in plunder and spoliation. Wrongs and usurpations springing from the pollution and desecration of the ballot-box stalked high-headed in the public way. The courts and the machinery of justice were impotent in the presence of culprits too great to be punished.

The act of 1870 came in to throttle such abuses. It was not born without throes and pangs. It passed the Senate after a day and a night which rang with Democratic maledictions and foul aspersions.

In the autumn of that year an election was held for the choice of Representatives in Congress. I see more than one friend near me who, for himself and for others, has reason even unto this day to remember that election and the apprehension which preceded it. It was the first time the law of 1870 had been put in force. Resistance was openly counseled. Democratic newspapers in New York advised that the officers of the law be pitched into the river. Disorder was afoot. Men, not wanting in bravery, and not Republicans, dreaded the day. Bloodshed, arson, riot were feared. Ghastly spectacles were still fresh in memory. The draft riots had spread terror which had never died, and strong men shuddered when they remembered the bloody assizes of the Democratic party. They had seen men and women, blind with party hate, dizzy and drunk with party madness, stab and burn and revel in murder and in mutilating the dead. They had seen an asylum for colored orphans made a funeral pile, and its smoke sent up from their Christian and imperial city to tell in Heaven of the inhuman bigotry, the horrible barbarity of man. Remembering such sickening scenes, and dreading their repetition, they asked the President to protect them — to protect them with the beak and claw of national power. Instantly the unkenneled packs of party barked in vengeful chorus. Imprecations, maledictions, and threats were hurled at Grant; but with that splendid courage which never blanched in battle, which never quaked before clamor — with that matchless self-poise which did not desert him even when a continent beyond the sea rose and uncovered before him, he responded in the orders which it has pleased the Senator from Delaware to read. The election thus protected was the fairest, the freest, the most secure, a generation had seen. * * *

Now, the election law is to be emasculated; no national soldier must confront rioters or mobs; no armed man by national authority, though not a soldier, must stay the tide of brutality or force; no deputy marshal must be within call; no supervisor must have power to arrest any man who, in his sight, commits the most flagrant breach of the peace. But the Democrats tell us "we have not abolished the supervisors; we have left them." Yes, the legislative bill leaves the supervisors, two stool-pigeons with their wings clipped,

two licensed witnesses to stand about idle, and look — yes, "a cat may look at a king" —but they must not touch bullies or law-breakers, not if they do murders right before their eyes.

If a civil officer should, under the pending amendment, attempt to quell a riot by calling on the bystanders, if they have arms, he is punishable for that. If a marshal, the marshal of the district in which the election occurs, the marshal nominated to the Senate and confirmed by the Senate — I do not mean a deputy marshal — should see an affray or a riot, at the polls on election day, and call upon the bystanders to quell it, if this bill becomes a law, and one of those bystanders has a revolver in his pocket, or another one takes a stick or a cudgel in his hand, the marshal may be fined five thousand dollars and punished by five years' imprisonment.

Such are the devices to belittle national authority and national law, to turn the idea of the sovereignty of the nation into a laughing-stock and a by-word.

Under what pretexts is this uprooting and overturning to be? Any officer who transgresses the law, be he civil or military, may be punished in the courts of the State or in the courts of the nation under existing law. Is the election act unconstitutional? The courts for ten years have been open to that question. The law has been pounded with all the hammers of the lawyers, but it has stood the test; no court has pronounced it unconstitutional, although many men have been prosecuted and convicted under it. Judge Woodruff and Judge Blatchford have vindicated its constitutionality. But, as I said before, the constitutional argument has been abandoned. The supreme political court, practically now above Congresses or even Constitutions, the Democratic caucus, has decided that the law is constitutional. The record of the judgment is in the legislative bill.

We are told it costs money to enforce the law. Yes, it costs money to enforce all laws; it costs money to prosecute smugglers, counterfeiters, mail robbers, murderers, and others. We have been informed that it has cost two hundred thousand dollars to execute the election act. It cost more than five billions of dollars, in money alone, to preserve our institutions and our laws, in one war, and the nation which bled and the nation which paid is not likely to give up its institutions and the birthrights of its citizens for two hundred thousand dollars. * * *

(From a speech delivered in the United States Senate, April 24, 1879.)

Memorial Address.

By JAMES G. BLAINE, of Maine.

(Born 1830, died 1893.)

MR. PRESIDENT: For the second time in this generation the great departments of the Government of the United States are assembled in the Hall of Representatives to do honor to the memory of a murdered President. Lincoln fell at the close of a mighty struggle in which the passions of men had been deeply stirred. The tragical termination of his great life added but another to the lengthened succession of horrors which had marked so many lintels with the blood of the first-born. Garfield was slain in a day of peace, when brother had been reconciled to brother, and when anger and hate had been banished from the land. "Whoever shall hereafter draw the portrait of murder, if he will show it as it has been exhibited where such example was last to have been looked for, let him not give it the grim visage of Moloch, the brow knitted by revenge, the face black with settled hate. Let him draw, rather, a decorous, smooth-faced, bloodless demon; not so much an example of human nature in its depravity and in its paroxysms of crime, as an infernal being, a fiend in the ordinary display and development of his character."

From the landing of the Pilgrims at Plymouth till the uprising against Charles I., about twenty thousand emigrants came from old England to New England. As they came in pursuit of intellectual freedom and ecclesiastical independence rather than for worldly honor and profit, the emigration naturally ceased when the contest for religious liberty began in earnest at home. The man who struck his most effective blow for freedom of conscience by sailing for the colonies in 1620 would have been accounted a deserter to leave after 1640. The opportunity had then come on the soil of England for that great contest which established the authority of Parliament, gave religious freedom to the people, sent Charles to the block, and committed to the hands of Oliver Cromwell the supreme executive authority of England. The English emigration was never renewed, and from these twenty thousand men, and from a small emigration from Scotland, from Ireland, and from France, are descended the vast numbers who have New England blood in their veins.

In 1685 the revocation of the edict of Nantes by Louis XIV. scattered to other countries four hundred thousand Protestants, who were among the most intelligent and enterprising of French subjects — merchants of capital, skilled manufacturers, and handicraftsmen, superior at the time to all others in Europe. A considerable number of these Huguenot French came to America; a few landed in New England and became honorably prominent in its history. Their names have in large part become anglicized, or have disappeared, but their blood is traceable in many of the most reputable families, and their fame is perpetuated in honorable memorials and useful institutions.

From these two sources, the English-Puritan and the French-Huguenot, came the late President — his father, Abram Garfield, being descended from the one, and his mother, Eliza Ballou, from the other. * * *

His father dying before he was two years old, Garfield's early life was one of privation, but its poverty has been made indelicately and unjustly prominent. Thousands of readers have imagined him as the ragged, starving child, whose reality too often greets the eye in the squalid sections of our large cities. General Garfield's infancy and youth had none of this destitution, none of these pitiful features appealing to the tender heart, and to the open hand, of charity. He was a poor boy in the same sense in which Henry Clay was a poor boy; in which Andrew Jackson was a poor boy; in which Daniel Webster was a poor boy; in the sense in which a large majority of the eminent men of America in all generations have been poor boys. Before a great multitude, in a public speech, Mr. Webster bore this testimony:

"It did not happen to me to be born in a log cabin, but my elder brothers and sisters were born in a log cabin raised amid the snow-drifts of New Hampshire, at a period so early that when the smoke rose first from its rude chimney and curled over the frozen hills there was no similar evidence of a white man's habitation between it and the settlements on the rivers of Canada. Its remains still exist. I make to it an annual visit. I carry my children to it to teach them the hardships endured by the generations which have gone before them. I love to dwell on the tender recollections, the kindred ties, the early affections, and the touching narratives and incidents which mingle with all I know of this primitive family abode."

With the requisite change of scene the same words would aptly portray the early days of Garfield. The poverty of the frontier, where all are engaged in a common struggle and where a common sympathy and hearty co-operation lighten the burdens of each, is a very different poverty, different in kind, different in influence and effect, from that conscious and humiliating indigence which is every day forced to contrast itself with neighboring wealth on which it feels

a sense of grinding dependence. The poverty of the frontier is indeed no poverty. It is but the beginning of wealth, and has the boundless possibilities of the future always opening before it. * * *

No manly man feels anything of shame in looking back to early struggles with adverse circumstances, and no man feels a worthier pride than when he has conquered the obstacles to his progress. But no one of noble mold desires to be looked upon as having occupied a menial position, as having been repressed by a feeling of inferiority, or as having suffered the evils of poverty until relief was found at the hand of charity. General Garfield's youth presented no hardships which family love and family energy did not overcome, subjected him to no privations which he did not cheerfully accept, and left no memories save those which were recalled with delight, and transmitted with profit and with pride.

Garfield's early opportunities for securing an education were extremely limited, and yet were sufficient to develop in him an intense desire to learn. He could read at three years of age, and each winter he had the advantage of the district school. He read all the books to be found within the circle of his acquaintance; some of them he got by heart. While yet in childhood he was a constant student of the Bible, and became familiar with its literature. The dignity and earnestness of his speech in his maturer life gave evidence of this early training. At eighteen years of age he was able to teach school, and thenceforward his ambition was to obtain a college education. To this end he bent all his efforts, working in the harvest field, at the carpenter's bench, and, in the winter season, teaching the common schools of the neighborhood. While thus laboriously occupied he found time to prosecute his studies, and was so successful that at twenty-two years of age he was able to enter the junior class at Williams College, then under the presidency of the venerable and honored Mark Hopkins, who, in the fullness of his powers, survives the eminent pupil to whom he was of inestimable service. * * *

Garfield's army life was begun with no other military knowledge than such as he had hastily gained from books in the few months preceding his march to the field. Stepping from civil life to the head of a regiment, the first order he received when ready to cross the Ohio was to assume command of a brigade, and to operate as an independent force in Eastern Kentucky. * * *

The result of the campaign is matter of history. The skill, the endurance, the extraordinary energy shown by Garfield, the courage he imparted to his men, raw and untried as himself, the measures he adopted to increase his force and to create in the enemy's mind exaggerated estimates of his numbers, bore perfect fruit in the routing of Marshall, the capture of his camp, the dispersion of

his force, and the emancipation of an important territory from the control of the rebellion. Coming at the close of a long series of disasters to the Union arms, Garfield's victory had an unusual and extraneous importance, and in the popular judgment elevated the young commander to the rank of a military hero. With less than two thousand men in his entire command, with a mobilized force of only eleven hundred, without cannon, he had met an army of five thousand and defeated them — driving Marshall's forces successively from two strongholds of their own selection, fortified with abundant artillery. * * *

The subsequent military career of Garfield fully sustained its brilliant beginning. With his new commission he was assigned to the command of a brigade in the Army of the Ohio, and took part in the second and decisive day's fight on the bloody field of Shiloh. The remainder of the year 1862 was not especially eventful to Garfield, as it was not to the armies with which he was serving. * * *

Early in 1863 Garfield was assigned to the highly important and responsible post of chief of staff to General Rosecrans, then at the head of the Army of the Cumberland. Perhaps in a great military campaign no subordinate officer requires sounder judgment and quicker knowledge of men than the chief of staff to the commanding general. An indiscreet man in such a position can sow more discord, breed more jealousy, and disseminate more strife than any other officer in the entire organization. When General Garfield assumed his new duties he found various troubles already well developed and seriously affecting the value and efficiency of the Army of the Cumberland. The energy, the impartiality, and the tact with which he sought to allay these dissensions, and to discharge the duties of his new and trying position, will always remain one of the most striking proofs of his great versatility. His military duties closed on the memorable field of Chickamauga, a field which, however disastrous to the Union arms, gave to him the occasion of winning imperishable laurels. The very rare distinction was accorded him of a great promotion for bravery on a field that was lost. President Lincoln appointed him a major-general in the Army of the United States for gallant and meritorious conduct in the battle of Chickamauga.

The Army of the Cumberland was reorganized under the command of General Thomas, who promptly offered Garfield one of its divisions. He was extremely desirous to accept the position, but was embarrassed by the fact that he had, a year before, been elected to Congress, and the time when he must take his seat was drawing near. * * *

He resigned his commission of major-general on the 5th day of December, 1863, and took his seat in the House of Representatives on the 7th. He had

served two years and four months in the Army, and had just completed his thirty-second year.

The Thirty-eighth Congress is pre-eminently entitled in history to the designation of the War Congress. It was elected while the war was flagrant, and every member was chosen upon the issues involved in the continuance of the struggle. The Thirty-seventh Congress had, indeed, legislated to a large extent on war measures, but it was chosen before anyone believed that secession of the States would be actually attempted. The magnitude of the work which fell upon its successor was unprecedented, both in respect to the vast sums of money raised for the support of the Army and Navy, and of the new and extraordinary powers of legislation which it was forced to exercise. Only twenty-four States were represented, and one hundred and eighty-two members were upon its roll. Among these were many distinguished party leaders on both sides, veterans in the public service, with established reputations for ability, and with that skill which comes only from parliamentary experience. Into this assemblage of men Garfield entered without special preparation, and, it might almost be said unexpectedly. The question of taking command of a division of troops under General Thomas, or taking his seat in Congress, was kept open till the last moment, so late, indeed, that the resignation of his military commission and his appearance in the House were almost contemporaneous. He wore the uniform of a major-general of the United States Army on Saturday, and on Monday, in civilian's dress, he answered to the roll-call as a Representative in Congress from the State of Ohio.

He was especially fortunate in the constituency which elected him. Descended almost entirely from New England stock, the men of the Ashtabula district were intensely radical on all questions relating to human rights. Well educated, thrifty, thoroughly intelligent in affairs, acutely discerning of character, not quick to bestow confidence, and slow to withdraw it, they were at once the most helpful and most exacting of supporters. Their tenacious trust in men in whom they have once confided is illustrated by the unparalleled fact that Elisha Whittlesey, Joshua R. Giddings, and James A. Garfield represented the district for fifty-four years. * * *

With possibly a single exception, Garfield was the youngest member in the House when he entered, and was but seven years from his college graduation. But he had not been in his seat sixty days before his ability was recognized and his place conceded. He stepped to the front with the confidence of one who belonged there. The House was crowded with strong men of both parties; nineteen of them have since been transferred to the Senate, and many of them have served with distinction in the gubernatorial chairs of their respective States, and

on foreign missions of great consequence; but among them all none grew so rapidly, none so firmly, as Garfield. * * *

As a parliamentary orator, as a debater on an issue squarely joined, where the position had been chosen and the ground laid out, Garfield must be assigned a very high rank. More, perhaps, than any man with whom he was associated in public life, he gave careful and systematic study to public questions, and he came to every discussion in which he took part with elaborate and complete preparation. He was a steady and indefatigable worker. Those who imagine that talent or genius can supply the place or achieve the results of labor will find no encouragement in Garfield's life. In preliminary work he was apt, rapid, and skillful. He possessed in a high degree the power of readily absorbing ideas and facts, and, like Dr. Johnson, had the art of getting from a book all that was of value in it by a reading apparently so quick and cursory that it seemed like a mere glance at the table of contents. He was a pre-eminently fair and candid man in debate, took no petty advantage, stooped to no unworthy methods, avoided personal allusions, rarely appealed to prejudice, did not seek to inflame passion. He had a quicker eye for the strong point of his adversary than for his weak point, and on his own side he so marshaled his weighty arguments as to make his hearers forget any possible lack in the complete strength of his position. He had a habit of stating his opponent's side with such amplitude of fairness and such liberality of concession that his followers often complained that he was giving his case away. But never in his prolonged participation in the proceedings of the House did he give his case away, or fail in the judgment of competent and impartial listeners to gain the mastery.

These characteristics, which marked Garfield as a great debater, did not, however, make him a great parliamentary leader. A parliamentary leader, as that term is understood wherever free representative government exists, is necessarily and very strictly the organ of his party. * * *

For an achievement of that kind Garfield was disqualified — disqualified by the texture of his mind, by the honesty of his heart, by his conscience, and by every instinct and aspiration of his nature.

The three most distinguished parliamentary leaders hitherto developed in this country are Mr. Clay, Mr. Douglas, and Mr. Thaddeus Stevens. They were all men of consummate ability, of great earnestness, of intense personality, differing widely each from the others, and yet with a signal trait in common — the power to command. In the give-and-take of daily discussion, in the art of controlling and consolidating reluctant and refractory followers, in the skill to overcome all forms of opposition, and to meet with competency and courage the varying phases of unlooked-for assault or unsuspected defection, it would be

difficult to rank with these a fourth name in all our congressional history. But of these Mr. Clay was the greatest. It would, perhaps, be impossible to find in the parliamentary annals of the world a parallel to Mr. Clay. In 1841, at sixty-four years of age he took the control of the Whig party from the President who had received their suffrages, against the power of Webster in the Cabinet, against the eloquence of Choate in the Senate, against the herculean efforts of Caleb Cushing and Henry A. Wise in the House. In unshared leadership, in the pride and plenitude of power, he hurled against John Tyler with deepest scorn the mass of that conquering column which had swept over the land in 1840, and drove his administration to seek shelter behind the lines of its political foes. * * *

From these three great men Garfield differed radically, differed in the quality of his mind, in temperament, in the form and phase of ambition. He could not do what they did, but he could do what they could not, and in the breadth of his congressional work he left that which will longer exert a potential influence among men, and which, measured by the severe test of posthumous criticism, will secure a more enduring and more enviable fame. * * *

Garfield's nomination to the Presidency, while not predicted or anticipated, was not a surprise to the country. His prominence in Congress, his solid qualities, his wide reputation, strengthened by his then recent election as Senator from Ohio, kept him in the public eye as a man occupying the very highest rank among those entitled to be called statesmen. It was not mere chance that brought him this high honor. "We must," says Mr. Emerson, "reckon success a constitutional trait. If Eric is in robust health and has slept well and is at the top of his condition, and thirty years old at his departure from Greenland, he will steer west and his ships will reach Newfoundland. But take Eric out and put in a stronger and bolder man, and the ships will sail six hundred, one thousand, fifteen hundred miles farther and reach Labrador and New England. There is no chance in results."

As a candidate, Garfield steadily grew in popular favor. He was met with a storm of detraction at the very hour of his nomination, and it continued with increasing volume and momentum until the close of his victorious campaign.

Under it all he was calm, and strong, and confident; never lost his self-possession, did no unwise act, spoke no hasty or ill-considered word. Indeed, nothing in his whole life is more remarkable or more creditable than his bearing through those five full months of vituperation — a prolonged agony of trial to a sensitive man, a constant and cruel draft upon the powers of moral endurance. The great mass of these unjust imputations passed unnoticed, and with the general *debris* of the campaign fell into oblivion. But in a few instances the

iron entered his soul, and he died with the injury unforgotten if not unforgiven.

One aspect of Garfield's candidacy was unprecedented. Never before, in the history of partisan contests in this country, had a successful presidential candidate spoken freely on passing events and current issues. To attempt anything of the kind seemed novel, rash, and even desperate. The older class of voters recalled the unfortunate Alabama letter, in which Mr. Clay was supposed to have signed his political death-warrant. They remembered also the hot-tempered effusion by which General Scott lost a large share of his popularity before his nomination, and the unfortunate speeches which rapidly consumed the remainder. The younger voters had seen Mr. Greeley, in a series of vigorous and original addresses, preparing the pathway for his own defeat. Unmindful of these warnings, unheeding the advice of friends, Garfield spoke to large crowds as he journeyed to and from New York in August, to a great multitude in that city, to delegations and deputations of every kind that called at Mentor during the summer and autumn. With innumerable critics, watchful and eager to catch a phrase that might be turned into odium or ridicule, or a sentence that might be distorted to his own or his party's injury, Garfield did not trip or halt in any one of his seventy speeches. This seems all the more remarkable when it is remembered that he did not write what he said, and yet spoke with such logical consecutiveness of thought and such admirable precision of phrase as to defy the accident of misreport and the malignity of misrepresentation.

In the beginning of his presidential life Garfield's experience did not yield him pleasure or satisfaction. The duties that engross so large a portion of the President's time were distasteful to him, and were unfavorably contrasted with his legislative work. "I have been dealing all these years with ideas," he impatiently exclaimed one day, "and here I am dealing only with persons. I have been heretofore treating of the fundamental principles of government, and here I am considering all day whether A. or B. shall be appointed to this or that office." He was earnestly seeking some practical way of correcting the evils arising from the distribution of overgrown and unwieldy patronage — evils always appreciated and often discussed by him, but whose magnitude had been more deeply impressed upon his mind since his accession to the Presidency. Had he lived, a comprehensive improvement in the mode of appointment and in the tenure of office would have been proposed by him, and, with the aid of Congress, no doubt perfected.

But, while many of the Executive duties were not grateful to him, he was assiduous and conscientious in their discharge. From the very outset he exhibited administrative talent of a high order. He grasped the helm of office with the hand of a master. * * *

Garfield's ambition for the success of his administration was high. With strong caution and conservatism in his nature, he was in no danger of attempting rash experiments or of resorting to the empiricism of statesmanship. But he believed that renewed and closer attention should be given to questions affecting the material interests and commercial prospects of fifty millions of people. He believed that our continental relations, extensive and undeveloped as they are, involved responsibility, and could be cultivated into profitable friendship or be abandoned to harmful indifference or lasting enmity. He believed with equal confidence that an essential forerunner to a new era of national progress must be a feeling of contentment in every section of the Union, and a generous belief that the benefits and burdens of government would be common to all. Himself a conspicuous illustration of what ability and ambition may do under republican institutions, he loved his country with a passion of patriotic devotion, and every waking thought was given to her advancement. He was an American in all his aspirations, and he looked to the destiny and influence of the United States with the philosophic composure of Jefferson and the demonstrative confidence of John Adams.

The political events which disturbed the President's serenity for many weeks before that fateful day in July form an important chapter in his career, and, in his own judgment, involved questions of principle and of right which are vitally essential to the constitutional administration of the Federal Government. It would be out of place here and now to speak the language of controversy; but the events referred to, however they may continue to be source of contention with others, have become, so far as Garfield is concerned, as much a matter of history as his heroism at Chickamauga, or his illustrious service in the House. Detail is not needful, and personal antagonism shall not be rekindled by any word uttered to-day. The motives of those opposing him are not to be here adversely interpreted nor their course harshly characterized. But of the dead President this is to be said, and said because his own speech is forever silenced and he can be no more heard except through the fidelity and love of surviving friends; from the beginning to the end of the controversy he so much deplored, the President was never for one moment actuated by any motive of gain to himself or of loss to others. Least of all men did he harbor revenge, rarely did he even show resentment, and malice was not in his nature. He was congenially employed only in the exchange of good offices and the doing of kindly deeds.

There was not an hour, from the beginning of the trouble till the fatal shot entered his body, when the President would not gladly, for the sake of restoring

harmony, have retraced any step he had taken if such retracing had merely involved consequences personal to himself. * * *

The religious element in Garfield's character was deep and earnest. In his early youth he espoused the faith of the Disciples, a sect of that great Baptist communion, which in different ecclesiastical establishments is so numerous and so influential throughout all parts of the United States. * * *

The liberal tendency which he anticipated as the result of wider culture was fully realized. He was emancipated from mere sectarian belief, and with eager interest pushed his investigations in the direction of modern progressive thought. He followed with quickening step in the paths of exploration and speculation so fearlessly trodden by Darwin, by Huxley, by Tyndall, and by other living scientists of the radical and advanced type. His own church, binding its disciples by no formulated creed, but accepting the Old and New Testaments as the word of God, with unbiased liberality of private interpretation, favored, if it did not stimulate, the spirit of investigation. * * *

The crowning characteristic of General Garfield's religious opinions, as, indeed, of all his opinions, was his liberality. In all things he had charity. Tolerance was of his nature. He respected in others the qualities which he possessed himself — sincerity of conviction and frankness of expression. With him the inquiry was not so much what a man believes, but does he believe it? The lines of his friendship and his confidence encircled men of every creed, and men of no creed, and to the end of his life, on his ever-lengthening list of friends, were to be found the names of a pious Catholic priest and of an honest-minded and generous-hearted free-thinker.

On the morning of Saturday, July 2d, the President was a contented and happy man — not in an ordinary degree, but joyfully, almost boyishly happy. On his way to the railroad station, to which he drove slowly, in conscious enjoyment of the beautiful morning, with an unwonted sense of leisure and a keen anticipation of pleasure, his talk was all in the grateful and gratulatory vein. He felt that after four months of trial his administration was strong in its grasp of affairs, strong in popular favor, and destined to grow stronger; that grave difficulties confronting him at his inauguration had been safely passed; that trouble lay behind him and not before him; that he was soon to meet the wife whom he loved, now recovering from an illness which had but lately disquieted and at times almost unnerved him; that he was going to his Alma Mater to renew the most cherished associations of his young manhood, and to exchange greetings with those whose deepening interest had followed every step of his upward progress from the day he entered upon his college course until he had attained the loftiest elevation in the gift of his countrymen.

Surely, if happiness can ever come from the honors or triumphs of this world, on that quiet July morning James A. Garfield may well have been a happy man. No foreboding of evil haunted him; no slightest premonition of danger clouded his sky. His terrible fate was upon him in an instant. One moment he stood erect, strong, confident in the years stretching peacefully out before him. The next he lay wounded, bleeding, helpless, doomed to weary weeks of torture, to silence, and the grave.

Great in life, he was surpassingly great in death. For no cause, in the very frenzy of wantonness and wickedness, by the red hand of murder, he was thrust from the full tide of this world's interest, from its hopes, its aspirations, its victories, into the visible presence of death — and he did not quail. Not alone for the one short moment in which, stunned and dazed, he could give up life, hardly aware of its relinquishment, but through days of deadly languor, through weeks of agony, that was not less agony because silently borne, with clear sight and calm courage, he looked into his open grave. What blight and ruin met his anguished eyes, whose lips may tell — what brilliant, broken plans, what baffled, high ambitions, what sundering of strong, warm, manhood's friendships, what bitter rending of sweet household ties! Behind him a proud, expectant nation, a great host of sustaining friends, a cherished and happy mother, wearing the full, rich honors of her early toil and tears; the wife of his youth, whose whole life lay in his; the little boys not yet emerged from childhood's day of frolic; the fair young daughter; the sturdy sons just springing into closest companionship, claiming every day and every day rewarding a father's love and care; and in his heart the eager, rejoicing power to meet all demand. Before him, desolation and great darkness! And his soul was not shaken. His countrymen were thrilled with instant, profound, and universal sympathy. Masterful in his mortal weakness, he became the center of a nation's love, enshrined in the prayers of a world. But all the love and all the sympathy could not share with him his suffering. He trod the winepress alone. With unfaltering front he faced death. With unfailing tenderness he took leave of life. Above the demoniac hiss of the assassin's bullet he heard the voice of God. With simple resignation he bowed to the divine decree.

As the end drew near, his early craving for the sea returned. The stately mansion of power had been to him the wearisome hospital of pain, and he begged to be taken from its prison walls, from its oppressive, stifling air, from its homelessness and its helplessness. Gently, silently, the love of a great people bore the pale sufferer to the longed-for healing of the sea, to live or to die, as God should will, within sight of its heaving billows, within sound of its manifold voices. With wan, fevered face tenderly lifted to the cooling breeze, he

looked out wistfully upon the ocean's changing wonders; on its far sails, whitening in the morning light; on its restless waves, rolling shoreward to break and die beneath the noonday sun; on the red clouds of evening, arching low to the horizon; on the serene and shining pathway of the stars. Let us think that his dying eyes read a mystic meaning which only the rapt and parting soul may know. Let us believe that in the silence of the receding world he heard the great waves breaking on a farther shore, and felt already upon his wasted brow the breath of the eternal morning.

(Delivered in the Hall of Representatives, February 27, 1882.)

The Spoils System.

By GEORGE WILLIAM CURTIS, of New York.
(Born 1824, died 1892.)

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THE spoils spirit struggled desperately to obtain possession of the national administration from the day of Jefferson's inauguration to that of Jackson's, when it succeeded. Its first great but undesigned triumph was the decision of the First Congress in 1789, vesting the sole power of removal in the President, a decision which placed almost every position in the Civil Service unconditionally at his pleasure. This decision was determined by the weight of Madison's authority. But Webster, nearly fifty years afterward, opposing his authority to that of Madison, while admitting the decision to have been final, declared it to have been wrong. The year 1820, which saw the great victory of slavery in the Missouri compromise, was also the year in which the second great triumph of the spoils system was gained, by the passage of the law which, under the plea of securing greater responsibility in certain financial offices, limited such offices to a term of four years. The decision of 1789, which gave the sole power of removal to the President, required positive executive action to effect removal; but this law of 1820 vacated all the chief financial offices, with all the places dependent upon them, during the term of every President, who, without an order of removal, could fill them all at his pleasure.

A little later a change in the method of nominating the President from a congressional caucus to a national convention still further developed the power of patronage as a party resource, and in the session of 1825–1826, when John Quincy Adams was President, Mr. Benton introduced his report upon Mr. Macon's resolution declaring the necessity of reducing and regulating executive patronage; although Mr. Adams, the last of the Revolutionary line of Presidents, so scorned to misuse patronage that he leaned backward in standing erect. The pressure for the overthrow of the constitutional system had grown steadily more angry and peremptory with the progress of the country, the development of

GEORGE WILLIAM CURTIS.

party spirit, the increase of patronage, the unanticipated consequences of the sole executive power of removal, and the immense opportunity offered by the four-years' law. It was a pressure against which Jefferson held the gates by main force, which was relaxed by the war under Madison and the fusion of parties under Monroe, but which swelled again into a furious torrent as the later parties took form. John Quincy Adams adhered, with the tough tenacity of his father's son, to the best principles of all his predecessors. He followed Washington, and observed the spirit of the Constitution in refusing to remove for any reason but official misconduct or incapacity. But he knew well what was coming, and with characteristically stinging sarcasm he called General Jackson's inaugural address "a threat of reform." With Jackson's administration in 1830 the deluge of the spoils system burst over our national politics. Sixteen years later, Mr. Buchanan said in a public speech that General Taylor would be faithless to the Whig party if he did not proscribe Democrats. So high the deluge had risen which has ravaged and wasted our politics ever since, and the danger will be stayed only when every President, leaning upon the law, shall stand fast where John Quincy Adams stood.

But the debate continued during the whole Jackson administration. In the Senate and on the stump, in elaborate reports and popular speeches, Webster, Calhoun, and Clay, the great political chiefs of their time, sought to alarm the country with the dangers of patronage. Sargent S. Prentiss, in the House of Representatives, caught up and echoed the cry under the administration of Van Buren. But the country refused to be alarmed. * * *

It heard the uproar like the old lady upon her first railroad journey, who sat serene amid the wreck of a collision, and when asked if she was much hurt, looked over her spectacles and answered, blandly, "Hurt? Why, I supposed they always stopped so in this kind of traveling." The feeling that the denunciation was only a part of the game of politics, and no more to be accepted as a true statement than Snug the joiner as a true lion, was confirmed by the fact that when the Whig opposition came into power with President Harrison, it adopted the very policy which under Democratic administration it had strenuously denounced as fatal. The pressure for place was even greater than it had been ten years before, and although Mr. Webster as Secretary of State maintained his consistency by putting his name to an executive order asserting sound principles, the order was swept away like a lamb by a locomotive. Nothing but a miracle, said General Harrison's Attorney-General, can feed the swarm of hungry office-seekers.

Adopted by both parties, Mr. Marcy's doctrine that the places in the public service are the proper spoils of a victorious party, was accepted as a necessary

condition of popular government. One of the highest officers of the Government expounded this doctrine to me long afterward. "I believe," said he, "that when the people vote to change a party administration they vote to change every person of the opposite party who holds a place, from the President of the United States to the messenger at my door." It is this extraordinary but sincere misconception of the function of party in a free government that leads to the serious defense of the spoils system. Now, a party is merely a voluntary association of citizents to secure the enforcement of a certain policy of administration upon which they are agreed. In a free government this is done by the election of legislators and of certain executive officers who are friendly to that policy. But the duty of the great body of persons employed in the minor administrative places is in no sense political. It is wholly ministerial, and the political opinions of such persons affect the discharge of their duties no more than their religious views or their literary preferences. All that can be justly required of such persons, in the interest of the public business, is honesty, intelligence, capacity, industry, and due subordination; and to say that, when the policy of the Government is changed by the result of an election from protection to free trade, every bookkeeper and letter carrier and messenger and porter in the public offices ought to be a free trader, is as wise as to say that if a merchant is a Baptist every clerk in his office ought to be a believer in total immersion. But the officer of whom I spoke undoubtedly expressed the general feeling. The necessarily evil consequences of the practice which he justified seemed to be still speculative and inferential, and to the national indifference which followed the war the demand of Mr. Jenckes for reform appeared to be a mere whimsical vagary most inopportunely introduced.

It was, however, soon evident that the war had made the necessity of reform imperative, and chiefly for two reasons: first, the enormous increase of patronage, and second, the fact that circumstances had largely identified a party name with patriotism. The great and radical evil of the spoils system was carefully fostered by the apparent absolute necessity to the public welfare of making political opinion and sympathy a condition of appointment to the smallest place. It is since the war, therefore, that the evil has run riot and that its consequences have been fully revealed. Those consequences are now familiar, and I shall not describe them. It is enough that the most patriotic and intelligent Americans and the most competent foreign observers agree that the direct and logical results of that system are the dangerous confusion of the executive and legislative powers of the Government; the conversion of politics into mere place hunting; the extension of the mischief to State and county and city administration, and the consequent degradation of the national character; the practical disfranchise-

ment of the people wherever the system is most powerful; and the perversion of a republic of equal citizens into a despotism of venal politicians. * * *

The whole system of appointments in the Civil Service proceeds from the President, and in regard to his action the intention of the Constitution is indisputable. It is that the President shall appoint solely upon public considerations, and that the officer appointed shall serve as long as he discharges his duty faithfully. This is shown in Mr. Jefferson's familiar phrase in his reply to the remonstrance of the merchants of New Haven against the removal of the collector of that port. Mr. Jefferson asserted that Mr. Adams had purposely appointed in the last moments of his administration officers whose designation he should have left to his successor. Alluding to these appointments, he says: "I shall correct the procedure, and that done, return with joy to that state of things when the only question concerning a candidate shall be, Is he honest? Is he capable? Is he faithful to the Constitution?" Mr. Jefferson here recognizes that these had been the considerations which had usually determined appointments; and Mr. Madison, in the debate upon the President's sole power of removal, declared that if a President should remove an officer for any reason not connected with efficient service, he would be impeached. Reform, therefore, is merely a return to the principle and purpose of the Constitution and to the practice of the early administrations.

What more is necessary, then, for reform than that the President should return to that practice? As all places in the Civil Service are filled either by his direct nomination or by officers whom he appoints, why has not any President ample constitutional authority to effect at any moment a complete and thorough reform? The answer is simple. He has the power. He has always had it. A President has only to do as Washington did, and all his successors have only to do likewise, and reform would be complete. Every President has but to refuse to remove non-political officers for political or personal reasons; to appoint only those whom he knows to be competent; to renominate, as Monroe and John Quincy Adams did, every faithful officer whose commission expires, and to require the heads of departments and all inferior appointing officers to conform to this practice, and the work would be done. This is apparently a short and easy and constitutional method of reform, requiring no further legislation or scheme of procedure. But why has no President adopted it? For the same reason that the best of Popes does not reform the abuses of his church. For the same reason that a leaf goes over Niagara. It is because the opposing forces are overpowering. The same high officer of the Government to whom I have alluded said to me as we drove upon the Heights of Washington, "Do you mean that I ought

not to appoint my subordinates for whom I am responsible?" I answered: "I mean that you do not appoint them now; I mean that if, when we return to the Capital, you hear that your chief subordinate is dead, you will not appoint his successor. You will have to choose among the men urged upon you by certain powerful politicians. Undoubtedly you ought to appoint the man whom you believe to be the most fit. But you do not and cannot. If you could or did appoint such men only, and that were the rule of your department and of the service, there would be no need of reform." And he could not deny it. * * *

A President who should alone undertake thoroughly to reform the evil must feel it to be the vital and paramount issue, and must be willing to hazard everything for its success. He must have the absolute faith and the indomitable will of Luther. "Here stand I; I can no other." How can we expect a President whom this system elects to devote himself to its destruction? General Grant, elected by a spontaneous patriotic impulse, fresh from the regulated order of military life and new to politics and politicians, saw the reason and the necessity of reform. The hero of a victorious war, at the height of his popularity, his party in undisputed and seemingly indisputable supremacy, made the attempt. Congress, good-naturedly tolerating what it considered his whim of inexperience, granted money to try an experiment. The adverse pressure was tremendous. "I am used to pressure," said the soldier. So he was, but not to this pressure. He was driven by unknown and incalculable currents. He was enveloped in whirlwinds of sophistry, scorn, and incredulity. He who upon his own line had fought it out all summer to victory, upon a line absolutely new and unknown was naturally bewildered and dismayed. * * *

When at last President Grant said, "If Congress adjourns without positive legislation on Civil Service reform, I shall regard such action as a disapproval of the system and shall abandon it," it was, indeed, a surrender, but it was the surrender of a champion who had honestly mistaken both the nature and the strength of the adversary and his own power of endurance.

It is not, then, reasonable, under the conditions of our Government and in the actual situation, to expect a President to go much faster or much further than public opinion. But executive action can aid most effectively the development and movement of that opinion, and the most decisive reform measures that the present administration might take would be undoubtedly supported by a powerful public sentiment. The educative results of resolute executive action, however limited and incomplete in scope, have been shown in the two great public offices of which I have spoken, the New York custom-house and the New York post-office. * * *

The root of the complex evil, then, is personal favoritism. This produces

congressional dictation, senatorial usurpation, arbitrary removals, interference in elections, political assessments, and all the consequent corruption, degradation, and danger that experience has disclosed. The method of reform, therefore, must be a plan of selection for appointment which makes favoritism impossible. The general feeling undoubtedly is that this can be accomplished by a fixed limited term. But the terms of most of the offices to which the President and the Senate appoint, and upon which the myriad minor places in the service depend, have been fixed and limited for sixty years, yet it is during that very period that the chief evils of personal patronage have appeared. The law of 1820, which limited the term of important revenue offices to four years, and which was afterward extended to other offices, was intended, as John Quincy Adams tells us, to promote the election to the presidency of Mr. Crawford, who was then Secretary of the Treasury. The law was drawn by Mr. Crawford himself, and it was introduced into the Senate by one of his devoted partisans. It placed the whole body of executive financial officers at the mercy of the Secretary of the Treasury and of a majority of the Senate, and its design, as Mr. Adams says, "was to secure for Mr. Crawford the influence of all the incumbents in office, at the peril of displacement, and of five or ten times an equal number of ravenous office-seekers, eager to supplant them." This is the very substance of the Spoils System, intentionally introduced by a fixed limitation of term in place of the constitutional tenure of efficient service; and it was so far successful that it made the custom-house officers, district attorneys, marshals, registers of the land office, receivers of public money, and even paymasters in the army, notoriously active partisans of Mr. Crawford. * * *

To fix by law the terms of places dependent upon such offices would be like an attempt to cure hydrophobia by the bite of a mad dog. The incumbent would be always busy keeping his influence in repair to secure reappointment, and the applicant would be equally busy in seeking such influence to procure the place, and as the fixed terms would be constantly expiring, the eager and angry intrigue and contest of influence would be as endless as it is now. This certainly would not be reform.

But would not reform be secured by adding to a fixed limited term the safeguard of removal for cause only? Removal for cause alone means, of course, removal for legitimate cause, such as dishonesty, negligence, or incapacity. But who shall decide that such cause exists? This must be determined either by the responsible superior officer or by some other authority. But if left to some other authority the right of counsel and the forms of a court would be invoked; the whole legal machinery of mandamuses, injunctions, certioraris, and the rules of evidence would be put in play to keep an incompe-

tent clerk at his desk or a sleepy watchman on his beat. Cause for the removal of a letter carrier in the post-office or of an accountant in the custom-house would be presented with all the pomp of impeachment and established like a high crime and misdemeanor. Thus every clerk in every office would have a kind of vested interest in his place because, however careless, slovenly, or troublesome he might be, he could be displaced only by an elaborate and doubtful legal process. Moreover, if the head of a bureau, or a collector, or a postmaster were obliged to prove negligence, or insolence, or incompetency against a clerk as he would prove theft, there would be no removals from the public service except for crimes of which the penal law takes cognizance. Consequently, removal would be always and justly regarded as a stigma upon character, and a man removed from a position in a public office would be virtually branded as a convicted criminal. Removal for cause, therefore, if the cause were to be decided by any authority but that of the responsible superior officer, instead of improving, would swiftly and enormously enhance the cost, and ruin the efficiency, of the public service, by destroying subordination, and making every lazy and worthless member of it twice as careless and incompetent as he is now.

If, then, the legitimate cause for removal ought to be determined in public as in private business by the responsible appointing power, it is of the highest public necessity that the exercise of that power should be made as absolutely honest and independent as possible. But how can it be made honest and independent if it is not protected so far as practicable from the constant bribery of selfish interest and the illicit solicitation of personal influence? The experience of our large patronage offices proves conclusively that the cause of the larger number of removals is not dishonesty or incompetency; it is the desire to make vacancies to fill. This is the actual cause, whatever cause may be assigned. The removals would not be made except for the pressure of politicians. But those politicians would not press for removals if they could not secure the appointment of their favorites. Make it impossible for them to secure appointment, and the pressure would instantly disappear and arbitrary removal cease.

So long, therefore, as we permit minor appointments to be made by mere personal influence and favor, a fixed limited term and removal during that term for cause only would not remedy the evil, because the incumbents would still be seeking influence to secure reappointment, and the aspirants doing the same to replace them. Removal under plea of good cause would be as wanton and arbitrary as it is now, unless the power to remove were intrusted to some other discretion than that of the superior officer, and in that case the struggle for reappointment and the knowledge that removal for the term was practically impossible would totally demoralize the service. To make sure, then, that

removals shall be made for legitimate cause only, we must provide that appointment shall be made only for legitimate cause.

All roads lead to Rome. Personal influence in appointments can be annulled only by free and open competition. By that bridge we can return to the practice of Washington and to the intention of the Constitution. That is the shoe of swiftness and the magic sword by which the President can pierce and outrun the protean enemy of sophistry and tradition which prevents him from asserting his power. If you say that succcess in a competitive literary examination does not prove fitness to adjust customs duties, or to distribute letters, or to appraise linen, or to measure molasses, I answer that the reform does not propose that fitness shall be proved by a competitive literary examination. It proposes to annul personal influence and political favoritism by making appointment depend upon proved capacity. To determine this it proposes first to test the comparative general intelligence of all applicants and their special knowledge of the particular official duties required, and then to prove the practical faculty of the most intelligent applicants by actual trial in the performance of the duties before they are appointed. If it be still said that success in such a competition may not prove fitness, it is enough to reply that success in obtaining the favor of some kind of boss, which is the present system, presumptively proves unfitness.

Nor is it any objection to the reformed system that many efficient officers in the service could not have entered it had it been necessary to pass an examination; it is no objection, because their efficiency is a mere chance. They were not appointed because of efficiency, but either because they were diligent politicians or because they were recommended by diligent politicians. The chance of getting efficient men in any business is certainly not diminished by inquiry and investigation. * * *

Mr. President, in the old Arabian story, from the little box upon the seashore, carelessly opened by the fisherman, arose the towering and haughty demon, ever more monstrous and more threatening, who would not crouch again. So from the small patronage of the earlier day, from a Civil Service dealing with a national revenue of only two million dollars, and regulated upon sound business principles, has sprung the un-American, un-Democratic, un-Republican system which destroys political independence, honor, and morality, and corrodes the national character itself. In the solemn anxiety of this hour the warning words of the austere Calhoun, uttered nearly half a century ago, echo enstartled recollection like words of doom: "If you do not put this thing down it will put you down." Happily it is the historic faith of the race from which we are chiefly sprung, that eternal vigilance is the price of liberty. It is that faith which has made our mother England the great parent of free States.

The same faith has made America the political hope of the world. Fortunately removed by our position from the entanglements of European politics, and more united and peaceful at home than at any time within the memory of living men, the moment is most auspicious for remedying that abuse in our political system whose nature, proportions, and perils the whole country begins clearly to discern. The will and the power to apply the remedy will be a test of the sagacity and the energy of the people. The reform of which I have spoken is essentially the people's reform. With the instinct of robbers who run with the crowd and lustily cry "Stop thief!" those who would make the public service the monopoly of a few favorites denounce the determination to open that service to the whole people as a plan to establish an aristocracy. The huge ogre of patronage, gnawing at the character, the honor, and the life of the country, grimly sneers that the people cannot help themselves and that nothing can be done. But much greater things have been done. Slavery was the Giant Despair of many good men of the last generation, but slavery was overthrown. If the Spoils System, a monster only less threatening than slavery, be unconquerable, it is because the country has lost its convictions, its courage, and its common sense. "I expect," said the Yankee as he surveyed a stout antagonist, "I expect that you're pretty ugly, but I cal'late I'm a darned sight uglier." I know that patronage is strong, but I believe that the American people are very much stronger.

(Delivered before the American Social Science Association at its meeting in Saratoga, New York, September 8, 1881.)

Polygamy.

By GEORGE F. EDMUNDS, of Vermont.

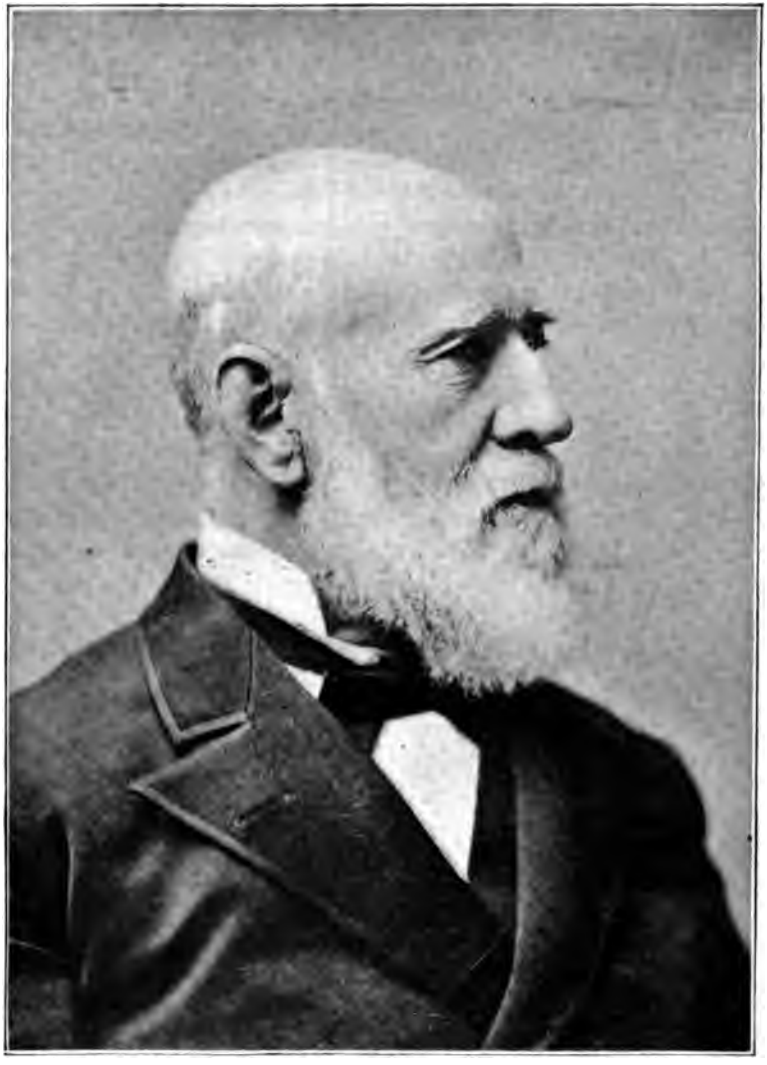
(Born 1828.)

THE Senator from Ohio (Mr. Sherman), I suspect, is quite right in what he has said that this measure is very likely not to accomplish all that some people might suppose it would accomplish. It may be that the domination of this autocracy, hierarchy, theocracy — I use all the terms — will still control the political action of the Territory of Utah; but we try the mildest of measures first. We take out by this bill from the present Government of Utah all of its essential powers, because the statistics and the information that we have demonstrate that the Government of the Territory of Utah from top to bottom now is and has been for a long time — I do not know but all the time — including both houses of its Territorial Assembly, in the hands of the polygamists. Every member of its Council but one is a polygamist glorying in from two to six wives. Every one but two or three of the twenty-six members of its House of Representatives is also adorned with that distinction. And when you go into the executive offices of that Territory, much the same thing exists.

Now this act, if it has no other effect, will have the effect of displacing from political supremacy all the persons whom the laws of the United States for twenty years have said were people who ought not to be allowed to carry on a government. It will have that effect provided the President of the United States, and the Senate of the United States, his constitutional advisers, select for the administrative and judicial offices of that Territory men who are wise enough and able enough to enforce the laws; and that, I may say, has been the great difficulty for the last twenty years that the Government of the United States is far from being free from criticism upon that point. It will do so much.

Now if there be in this Mormon church a body of people, as we believe there are, who have no more faith in this idea of polygamy than any Senator who hears me has, as a fact, and who wish to discourage it, and who wish to emancipate themselves from the tyranny of this hierarchy that now has its foot on their necks, there will be a chance for them to assert themselves.

It is true that this is something like what the Senator from Georgia and



GEORGE F. EDMUNDS.

some other people have alluded to indirectly; it is one of the twin "relics of barbarism." * * *

Then, may I not assume that we wish to get rid of it? Everybody says we do. How are you going to do it? You say you do not like what we have proposed. Will you propose something else? Oh, no. It is always some other day, some other measure that is not now defined, that is not now brought forward. It is some other day, some other time, some other measure, than the one that is proposed.

Now I come back to the precise point that we have before us, the essential substance of this bill — and I cannot waste my ten minutes in talking about constitutional considerations — is that the distinction between the power of the people to regulate political rights and their power to deny civil rights is as plain as anything can be. In the case of the Constitution of every State in this Union, almost, there has always been the provision that no man who is an idiot, a pauper, or a lunatic, shall be entitled to vote; and that question of whether he is entitled to vote is not submitted to a judicial tribunal to decide whether he is a pauper or an idiot; but it is decided in the first instance (subject, as in every case, as it is here, to an appeal to a judicial tribunal) by the political authority of the State in which the question arises. That has existed in, I presume, every State Constitution. Upon what principle does it stand? It stands upon the principle that the body of the people — and that for the Territories is the Congress of the United States, and nobody else, for we might abolish them to-morrow — have the right to determine who shall exercise a political franchise as distinct from a private or civil right.

The Supreme Court of the United States in the woman suffrage case have recognized and affirmed exactly the same proposition that the right to vote, or to hold office, is not an inherent right of a citizen, but it is a conventional right dependent upon the will of the majority of the community in which the right is claimed to exist. That is just what this does.

Now we come to the practical point. The Government of the Territory of Utah, in every one of its practical, administrative, and political aspects, is a government of polygamists — not a government of faith or opinion, but a government of fact. The men who practice that thing are in possession of that government; they are in possession of it in defiance of the statutes of the United States punishing that thing; they are in possession of it in defiance of all civilized, Christian, modern understanding of what it is right to do, not what it is right to think.

The Committee on the Judiciary recognize to the fullest extent all that

been said touching the right of every man and every woman to believe precisely what he or she likes. He may be an infidel and believe in nothing; he may be of any sect; he may believe that a hundred wives or no wives are right; he may believe in horse-stealing or whatever he likes. So long as he believes merely, he has a right to his opinion; but when it comes to what he has to do in the government of the country, it is a different thing. The horse-thief may not sit on a jury where a horse-thief is on trial, if he says, on being asked, that he thinks horse-stealing is a Christian duty; and yet some people have talked to us the idea that if you exclude horse-thieves from a jury that is to try a horse-thief, you have packed the jury. That is not the case, unless it be that every jury is packed in a sense. As I said some time ago, each jury, like every other agency of government, must believe in the law that they are called upon to enforce; otherwise the law itself becomes a mere mockery, and trial by jury a sham. You must in that sense pack it upon one side or the other; and upon which side? If you are to have a government at all, you must pack it upon the side of the people who believe in the law that they are sworn when they take their places in the jury-box that they will faithfully and impartially execute. That has existed without statute at the common law; it is the common law now; it is the law of the United States in Utah now, and this jury clause that we have in this bill only puts into form and provides convenient methods of carrying out exactly what the Supreme Court of the United States has decided that the law now is.

Then you come to the practical point, whether you are willing to deal with this question, not as a question of faith at all — for there is no clause in the bill that can be tortured into dealing with or affecting any man's faith; but there are clauses in the bill that deal with his conduct, and if his conduct, be it a conduct of faith or conduct of practice without faith, falls within the very principle of every organized community of being subject to be dealt with by the authority of that community. Nobody questions that; and when you deprive the pauper in Illinois or Vermont or Georgia of the right to vote, you do not say that he must be convicted of pauperism by a judicial trial in advance. You say that the political authority must decide, in the first instance, whether he is a pauper or not. If that political authority decides wrongfully against him, and his vote turns the question of how the election is to go, the judicial authorities come into play and put the right man in his place. That is exactly the effect of this bill.

So then, sir, we come back to the question of whether the Congress of the United States is willing to deal with the fact of a polygamous government in a Territory of the United States over which, I assume — because I cannot go into this constitutional or so-called constitutional argument — the United States has

supreme control as to its political character. That is all there is to it. If we have that control which I assume, then the question is whether, saying all of us that we are against the practice of polygamy, and do not believe that a polygamous community ought to be entitled to carry on the government as a polygamous government, we shall put the offices of that community into the hands of those who are not polygamists. That is all there is to it, and there is nothing more to it that can be stated. If you do not want to do it, if you wish things to go on as they are, let them go. It is for the Senate to determine.

More than that and beyond that, it is not the mere practice of polygamy, bad as it is, but that happens to be an inherent and controlling force in the most intense and anti-republican hierarchy, theocracy, as an organized and systematic government that, so far as my small reading has gone, has ever existed on the face of the earth. The Church of Latter-day Saints, a corporation organized under the authority of law, controls in every respect every step in the territorial operations of that community. The three presidents, by step after step, the three first presidents, as they are called, but I believe that the last one of those is the absolute ruler, in point of fact — you may disguise it and gloss it, as you please — of the destiny and the fate of that people, polygamists, Mormons who are not polygamists, and Gentiles. Is that republican? Can you tolerate in the heart of this continent of republics the building up of a State of that character? That is the question. If you cannot tolerate it, and have the power to dispose of it, are you willing to exert that power? That is the question. This bill is one step, only one step, to that end. The Committee on the Judiciary have under consideration other and further measures, which I hope we shall report in due time, which will make up and supplement this measure, to eradicate, as far as just government may, not any man's faith or opinion, but to bring the political community that exists within the boundaries of that Territory into its republican relations with the great Republic that surrounds it. That is all.

You can always find reasons and flaws and difficulties for not doing a thing if you do not wish to do it, and the Committee on the Judiciary do not suppose that this measure alone is sure to have the effect that some people imagine it is to have; but we hope that this Senate, before it is through with this business, will do all — and that will be sufficient — that the absolute political power of this Government has within its reach to accomplish the purpose, not of breaking down any man's faith or his opinions, but making the practice of the Government of the Territory of Utah and of its inhabitants conformable to what is essential to the republican safety of every one of the States of this Union, and the republican safety of them all under the Union of the United States.

(From a speech delivered in the United States Senate, February 16, 1882.)

Silver.

By WILLIAM BOURKE COCKRAN, of New York.
(Born 1854.)

MR. SPEAKER: After the very interesting address which we have just heard, nobody will deny that the argument for free silver coinage may be made picturesque, even if it fail to be convincing.

Sir, when the gavel of the presiding officer descended upon the desk of this House on the 4th of March last, and members of Congress returned to their homes, they found the country blessed with universal prosperity. Everywhere the fires of content blazed upon the hearthstones; the light of hope illumined every household; yet, in a period when everything that ought to produce prosperity was ours, the skies over our heads became somber, the dark cloud of a panic settled down over the length and breadth of the land, wrapping in its sinister folds countless thousands of American citizens, threatening to send the gaunt specter of starvation stalking over American highways, menacing the cottages that shelter American labor.

When we seek the source of the dangers that are now impending over us, we can find nothing in the character of providential interposition to prevent our continued march toward prosperity. Our bursting granaries show that Providence has smiled upon us in seed time and in harvest; yet, in every section of the country, mills are closing, industry is suspended, the public mind is disturbed with apprehensions that, during the coming winter, our highways will be thronged, not with tramps who shirk work, but with industrious laboring men, vainly seeking a market for their labor. There is reason to fear that self-respecting men and women, who have been active forces in the production of our national wealth, may be forced to taste the bitter and humiliating bread of charity. When we see ourselves surrounded by these grave perils, and realize that our condition cannot be attributed to the frown of Providence, we are forced to the conclusion that we must be suffering from the folly of man in the form of a vicious system of laws, which, in a time of bountiful production, has deranged and paralyzed the whole machinery of distribution.

I do not agree with my friend from Maine (Mr. Reed) in his conclusion that financial crises are mysterious but unavoidable incidents in the progress

of the human race. I believe that every commercial disturbance can be traced to settled and well-defined causes, and that this panic has been produced by vicious monetary laws, just as the panic of 1837, the panic of 1857, and the panic of 1873 were produced, by unsound systems of finance. And a condition which has been produced by bad laws can be remedied by wise laws.

The President of the United States has called us together at a period of intense heat to apply a remedy to the evil from which this country suffers, and he suggests that the disasters which threaten us have their root in the operation of the act of 1890, known as the Sherman Silver Law. A proposition to repeal the purchasing clause of that act has been submitted to this House, and we have a series of substitutes offered for it — one a proposition for free coinage of silver, with an assortment of ratios, and the other a proposition to revive the Bland act.

When we scrutinize the arguments that have been offered in support of these amendments, I believe we may reduce them to two — one that the Democratic party, by its platform adopted at Chicago, declared in favor of free coinage of silver, and the other that, if the amendment proposed by the gentleman from Missouri be adopted, the value of silver will be increased so that it will circulate freely on a parity with gold at a ratio of sixteen to one.

Mr. Speaker, I do not join in the tone of levity with which the platform of the Democratic party has been treated in some quarters. I believe that a declaration of political principles is binding upon a political party, and when I stand here to-day opposed to this measure of free coinage, I stand on the Democratic platform with both feet, and he who seeks to pass such an act in the name of the Democratic party is trying to push me off the Democratic platform and to place me on the Populist platform. I assisted in the deliberations of the Democratic convention; and, Mr. Speaker, the good humor which that remark provokes induces me to say that I had a good opportunity to discover with what vigor it set its foot upon opposition when any person undertook to interfere with its settled purpose.

I remember, sir, that when the financial plank of the platform was under consideration, a delegate from Colorado proposed as an amendment the insertion of the word "free" before the word "coinage," and supported it in a speech of about an hour's duration, and did not poll ten votes for it on the floor when the convention took final action upon the proposition. * * *

The Democratic party did declare for the use of both metals as money; and, sir, while I am opposed to the free coinage of silver, I am equally opposed to the total demonetization of silver.

William Bourke Cockran.

Silver is a part of the world's money, and it is and always will be a part of the money of every country, but there can never be a bimetallic standard of value in any one country. There never has been and there never will be.

Mr. Speaker, we have heard it said here, and it is the principal delusion cherished by our friends who support the amendments offered to this bill, that there was bimetallism in this country prior to 1873, and that there was bimetallism in France from 1803 to 1873. Now, I venture to state that, while there was free coinage of both metals in these two countries, there never was bimetallism in either, in the sense of the two metals circulating together. These two metals have never been, at one and the same time, the standard of value in any country, and, in the nature of things, one metal must always be the standard of value. This proposition was laid down by Locke, in 1695, when the principles of finance were still obscure, and when the experience of the human race, in a high state of civilization, had not contributed to the sum of human knowledge upon the subject. In one of the papers which Locke contributed to the discussions which preceded the recoinage in England, at the close of the seventeenth century, he said:

"Two metals, as gold and silver, cannot be the measure of commerce both together in any country, because the measure of commerce must be perpetually the same, invariable, and keeping the same proportion of value in all its parts. But so only metal does or can do itself; so silver is to silver and gold to gold. An ounce of silver is always of equal value to an ounce of silver, and an ounce of gold to an ounce of gold; and two ounces of the one or other of double the value of an ounce of the same. But gold and silver change their value one to another, for, supposing them to be in value as sixteen to one now, perhaps the next month they may be as fifteen and three-quarters or fifteen and seven-eighths to one. And one may as well take a measure, *v. g.*, a yard whose parts lengthen and shrink, as a measure of trade of materials that have not always a settled, invariable value to one another."

And that doctrine was repeated by Mill, one hundred and fifty years afterward, when he said:

"The plan of a double standard is still occasionally brought forward by, here and there, a writer or orator as a great improvement in the currency. It is probable that, with most of its adherents, its chief merit is its tendency to a sort of depreciation, there being, at all times, abundance of supporters for any mode, either open or covert, of lowering the standard." * * *

And again:

"The particular kind of variation to which the currency is rendered more

liable by having two legal standards is a fall of value, or what is commonly called a depreciation, since, practically, that one of the two metals will always be the standard, of which the real has fallen below the rated value."

Mr. Speaker, these are the speculations and conclusions of the two chief philosophers who have written on this subject. And what Locke declared, what Mill repeats, is attested by the experience of the whole human race. I make the statement here now — and I challenge my friend from Missouri (Mr. Bland) to contradict it, familiar as he is with the historical development of this question — that never in the history of the world have these two metals circulated side by side as a double standard of value. They never will so circulate and they never can. Let us take the experience on this subject of the three leading countries of the world — Great Britain, France, and the United States. * * *

(From a speech delivered in the House of Representatives, August 26, 1893.)

Silver.

By THOMAS B. REED, of Maine.

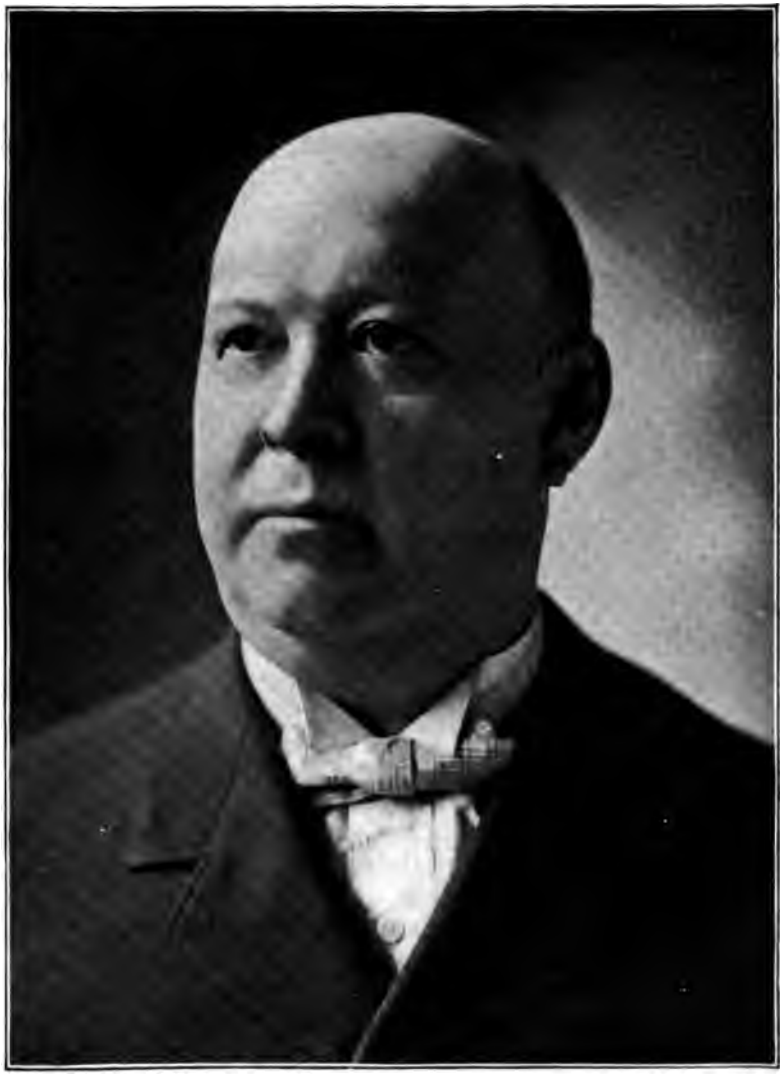
(Born 1839.)

BIMETALLISM by a single nation does not seem to be possible; bimetallism by all the nations of the world seems to me to be not only possible, but feasible. As I understand it, the object of bimetallism, and the avowed object of monometallism is to have a stable and persistent standard. The theory of the monometallist is that gold of itself is subject to less fluctuation, to less change than silver, to less fluctuation and change than both gold and silver together.

The theory of the bimetallist is that if two lakes, liable to be disturbed by different causes, can be connected and made to flow into each other interchangeably, they will present a much greater expanse, and any change of level will, therefore, be much less — the change in each lake being distributed over both.

I can understand this theory as applied to the metallic standards of the world. I can understand that if gold by any accident should be undervalued in any country and driven out of that country, that would send it to the other countries; and the effect of that surplus of gold in the other countries would be to lower the price of gold, and, therefore, have a tendency to send it back to the original country; in other words, that the effect of the two lakes would be to cause a lesser variation in the level; but when you come to apply that doctrine to a single country, you will perceive at once that it cannot be applicable, that the effect of undervaluing one metal will necessarily be to drive that metal out of the country.

You do not have to indulge in any far-fetched theories to understand this. You do not have to discuss the question of the Gresham law at all. All you have to do is to apply yourself to the history of the United States; and the speech of the gentleman from Tennessee (Mr. Patterson), a brave and admirable speech, shows conclusively that this country, while it was pretending to be bimetallic in its standard, was never really so; that one metal drove the other out



THOMAS B. REED.

of the country; that the standard was not possible of maintenance as long as there was an overvaluation.

Now, to-day the proposition is that we shall undervalue gold over forty per cent. If three cents on a dollar of undervaluation of silver drove silver out of this country, what will an undervaluation of forty cents on a dollar do for gold? Does anybody have any question or doubt about it? Not the least. But you say if we undertake to establish a gold standard in this country, first, we will demonetize silver and drive it out of existence; and, second, we will raise the debts which the people owe to some persons unknown, presumably enemies, who ought to be despoiled.

This first charge would be a serious one if it were true. If the adoption of a gold standard destroyed the uses of silver, it would certainly be a very grave misfortune to this country. In the first place, it would destroy a productive industry of this country. For my part, I am never willing to do that. Second, it would destroy an industry which, in my judgment, is of more value to this country than a merely productive industry.

To my belief the regions beyond the Missouri river will one day or other constitute comparatively the great riches of this country. It would not be possible for me to prove this. It would not be possible for me to demonstrate this, perhaps, even to the people who live beyond the Missouri; but I have an abiding faith that such is the case. The wonderful possibilities of their soil has never been appreciated even by themselves. I believe that the settlement and the growth of this country depend greatly upon its mining interests.

I have, therefore, been ready all my life, by duties on lead, and by any action upon the silver question which seemed to me to be adequate and suitable to promote those industries; and I should be sorry to believe that the maintenance of a gold standard would cause them permanent harm. I do not believe that the maintenance of a gold standard in any way militates against the reasonable use of silver as a coinage metal. The question whether there is to be a double standard or a single standard is entirely different from the question of the use of silver as money.

We have purchased, and have now in the vaults of the United States Treasury Department, thousands of tons of silver, yet there never has been a moment of time since 1872 when the standard has not been gold; the standard to-day is gold. The repealing of the purchasing clause of the Sherman act, therefore, would not in any way establish a different one. The continuance of the purchases under the Sherman act would, in the estimation of the world, be a declaration that we intended to go on with our purchases to such an extent that we would find ourselves upon a silver basis after no great lapse of time.

Now, whatever this country may desire to do — whatever its intentions are for the future — one thing seems to be clear: If the people are to go upon a silver basis, they want to know that they are going to do so, and want to do it deliberately. If the plain question were presented to every American citizen whether he desired that this country should be upon a silver basis alone, gold being banished, the great majority of answers would be no. And this ground they would take without abating a jot their determination to coin and use both metals.

The next difficulty which we have to meet is the assertion that by the repeal of the Sherman act, we increase the burden of the debt upon the borrower. This would certainly be a very grave misfortune, if it were true. The business of borrowing, and the business of lending are alike honorable. Such transactions arise out of the nature of man's needs. Some men prefer a certain gain to the chances of great profit.

Some men are willing to take the chance of the profit and pay the small gain which is necessary in order to obtain the stored-up wealth of another. Men who have money may not have enterprise and brains. Men who have brains and enterprise do not always have money. Borrowing and lending marries money and brains, to the great advancement of the world. If we were to make a law which only related to a single series of transactions, such as now exist in the United States, it might possibly be an advantage to the borrower to have the payment so adjusted that he would have the advantage of the transaction; but when the present race of borrowers is dead, or when the present borrowers have paid their money, there will still be forever a borrowing and lending world.

In order to constitute the transaction of borrowing and lending, the first thing is the lender. Until he is willing to lend, the transaction cannot by any possibility take place. The first thing to do is to coax the lender to lend. After that, borrowing is possible, and not until then is it possible.

Hence, laws must be made so as to enable the lender to be satisfied of the certainty of return. If there is any uncertainty with regard to that, before he lends he will demand some advantage which corresponds to that doubt connected with the repayment. Money paid for the use of other money, in the nature of interest, is a different thing from money paid for the use of other money in the nature of a risk.

A man will lend you money for five per cent. where there is no risk, and it may be he will not lend it to you for a hundred where there is; consequently, if you make your laws in such fashion that the borrower has an advantage in payment, the lender will be sure to demand an advantage in lending, and generally, such an advantage as will cover all the chances. If you could make a

man absolutely sure to-day in any part of the United States that what he loans out would certainly come back to him, you would lower the rate of interest a great many per cent. everywhere.

Therefore, any law which is made to reach the case of the lender and the borrower must be made in the spirit of fairness and of justice; and any proposition to a man to lend you money upon one standard to be paid upon another will necessarily be accompanied with such a rate of interest as will make up for the possibility of the lowering of that standard.

Hence, it cannot be to the advantage of anybody to have unjust laws made between the borrower and the lender; it is just as essential to the borrower that the transaction should be as fair as it is to the lender.

I do not propose, however, to discuss the debt question at any length. That would be more suitable in a discussion such as may take place when our whole financial system is remodeled. These observations on debtor and creditor I make merely to supplement the admirable statement of the gentleman from Mississippi (Mr. Catchings). I might go on and discuss the proposition to re-establish the Bland act, but Senator Hoar, in his most excellent speech elsewhere, has shown that that act is worse than the one under which we are now living. Certain it is that had not the decline of the national bank circulation kept equal pace with the issue of the Bland dollar, that act would have long ago landed us where we are now.

The proposition to lower the ratio I hail as the one good sign of this discussion. To drop from the bigoted determination that sixteen to one is a heaven-appointed ratio, raised up by the Almighty, and proceed even to discuss market values, seems to give some slight hope that when we really undertake anew to reform our financial system we may approach it with some reference to existing conditions and to the facts of the universe. As for the propositions now before us, we can all see that they are untenable. No one believes that we could maintain twenty to one any easier than sixteen to one without the aid of the rest of the world.

What, then, is the pathway of duty? The unconditional repeal. That will either give relief or not. If not, then we must try something else, and the sooner the better. It is a matter of deep regret to all sensible men that we have delayed so long. Men are to-day struggling almost against fate and praying for relief. The banks are strained almost to the point of breaking. It is such a pity that we had to waste so much time in this weary welter of talk.

(From a speech delivered in the House of Representatives, August 26, 1893.)

The Parting of the Ways.

By RICHARD P. BLAND, of Missouri.
(Born 1835, died 1899.)

WHY, Mr. Speaker, I say right here (and history will bear me out in the statement) that while there was some alarm in the country before, yet the moment the British Government demonetized silver in India, then the panic began in earnest — not before; that precipitated this panic in its present shape. We all understand that. In this way desolation was brought into many of the States of the Union, and men who had before been prosperous and happy were by the thousands sent as tramps throughout the land.

All parts of the country have felt the effect. It is this fight upon silver that has precipitated this panic; and the repeal of the Sherman law will only intensify it, not relieve it. The panic will be relieved when everything gets so low that people see they can make money by buying; when they begin to buy, prices will go up; and when everybody is buying, money will come from its hoarding places and you will have some relief. In no other way will relief come.

Gold is coming to us to-day. Notwithstanding we are told the people across the water are afraid to invest here for fear that we will not pay in gold, yet these people are sustaining prices to-day and sending here all the money that they can spare. There was a panic in gold-using Australia that has bankrupted that whole people and sent terror to the banks all over England. We know that gold cannot be obtained there except by paying for it; yet it is coming here.

Talk about a premium on gold; here is the Treasury of the United States that is open to the plunder of every speculator in the civilized world. He can take his Sherman note or his greenback or any other Government currency there and get gold without cost. Did you ever notice the names of these gentlemen in New York who are shipping the gold abroad, or bringing it back? Every one of those names that I have seen has a foreign termination; every

one of those gentlemen, so far as I am advised, is an agent or branch bank of some bank across the water.

If you go to the Bank of England to get gold for export you must pay a premium on it; if you go to the Bank of France to get gold for export you must pay a premium on it. The case is the same with every other banking-house in Europe; no gold can be obtained there without paying a premium. But here is the Treasury of the United States professing to be so helpless that it cannot prevent every gold speculator from robbing the Government of its gold. Our Treasury will not pay out the silver which it might pay.

The Bank of France will pay out silver, or will charge a premium on gold if it is wanted for anything but domestic use. But the Treasury of the United States, instead of paying out gold and silver in equal quantities and thus preserving its gold (if it is necessary to preserve it, though I see no necessity of preserving it, for all our money is at a premium to-day), lets everybody go there and get as much gold as he pleases. Why not pay out the silver when we have more of it than we have of gold, or pay out gold when we have more of it than silver, and thus protect ourselves?

It is because the Administration is hostile to silver; and thus it is surrendering this country to the Shylocks of the Old World who have made war upon it. The aristocracy of Western Europe has absolutely tabooed silver in those countries; driven it away from there. Here it finds its only resting place. The last fight for the white metal is to be made here in this country and in this House, my friends. Will you stand by it now, or will you let the Shylocks come and have their way? It is for you to determine.

I think, Mr. Speaker, that we can trust the people of this country on a question of as vital importance as this. The question is now before us. This is its last resort. Will you virtually demonetize the money of nearly seventy millions of people, with a vast empire of three million square miles, a people thirsting for money to open up new railroads, to establish new factories, to operate new places of business, to inaugurate new industries; seventy millions of people demanding money, twice what we have to-day, a new people, a new country, a free people, or they are or ought to be free whether they are or not?

Are you to give up the fight and let this vast body of our wealth go to ruin? I do not believe it. We know well enough that if we repeal this law and give nothing for it, the people of this country will regard it as a total demonetization of silver, which it will be so far as this Congress is concerned, without any question.

Now, my friends — and I do not care whether you are Democrats or Republicans, or who you are, but I appeal to you, especially as Democrats —

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when in 1890 in nearly every State of this Union the Democratic party in its platforms demanded free and unlimited coinage of silver, when you embodied it in your great Chicago national platform, when the Democratic party has for years stood before the House and the country as the bulwark in defense of the white metal, in the face of all these things are you now to desert the cause and surrender the fight? Can you afford to do it? Will you go to your people and tell them that you are not able to carry out the pledges of your platform, the promises upon which you were sent here, or any part of it, except that which resulted in the total demonetization of silver and the sacrifice of their interests?

What does free coinage of silver mean? It means that the holders of silver bullion, at some ratio to be fixed in the bill, may go to the mints of the Government and have it struck into the legal-tender money of the country and deposit the dollars so coined, if the holder so desires, and have a certificate issued to him in place of it. What is the effect of unlimited coinage of silver in this country, and I invite your attention to this particularly, because it is a question of vital importance? It means that the silver coins of the United States at whatever ratio is fixed, and I want the present ratio that we have now, sixteen to one, maintained precisely as it is, it means that the silver of the world can come here in exchange for what we have to sell.

Yes, it means that the silver of the whole world can come here. But they say that we will be flooded with the world's silver, that it will be dumped down upon us. Now, let us see about that for a moment. It means that anyone with sixteen ounces of silver can come here from any part of the world, or with one ounce of gold, and he can buy your grain, he can buy your house and lot, he can buy your manufactured product, and buy the property and commodities of all sorts that you have to sell with either the one or the other; that is to say, he can buy just as much with his sixteen ounces of silver as with his one ounce of gold.

With the billions upon billions of property existing in this country to-day, and being produced in this country every year, we simply offer to exchange that which we have in abundance on a basis of one pound of gold as the equivalent of sixteen pounds of silver. We invite, then, the world to come with its silver and make the exchange. No nation now, it is true, offers in exchange for silver the gold at any fixed ratio; consequently all the silver that is coined is used in the countries where it is coined. And why? Because no great power offers to exchange commodities for one metal or the other at any fixed ratio. That is the only trouble with silver to-day.

Now, it must be remembered that France gave an example to the world

in this regard, having kept its silver on a parity with gold for a period of seventy years on a ratio of fifteen and one-half to one. It said to the nations of the world, "Come with your gold and your silver, fifteen and one-half ounces of silver or one of gold, and you can buy all of our salable property in France and you can pay us in silver or in gold; just as you choose, on that basis." And according to the report of the British Royal Commission of 1888 on that subject, France was enabled to maintain the parity of the two metals at that ratio, for the reason that she had property enough to effect exchanges on that basis. We are in the same condition.

What is it, then, that you are asked to do? It is that we, the Government of the United States, we as a people say to all the world, especially the silver-using people, all of the Asiatic nations and the Great Indies, come here with your white metal if you choose to come, and trade with us on the basis of sixteen to one and buy your commodities from us at that ratio. When you do that, will not the silver-using people of the world come to our shores to make their purchases rather than go to the European powers, where they demand a ratio of from twenty-two to twenty-five There can be no doubt of the answer to that question.

(From a speech delivered in the House of Representatives, August 11, 1893.)

The Contested Election Case of Patterson vs. Carmack.

By JOHN M. ALLEN, of Mississippi.

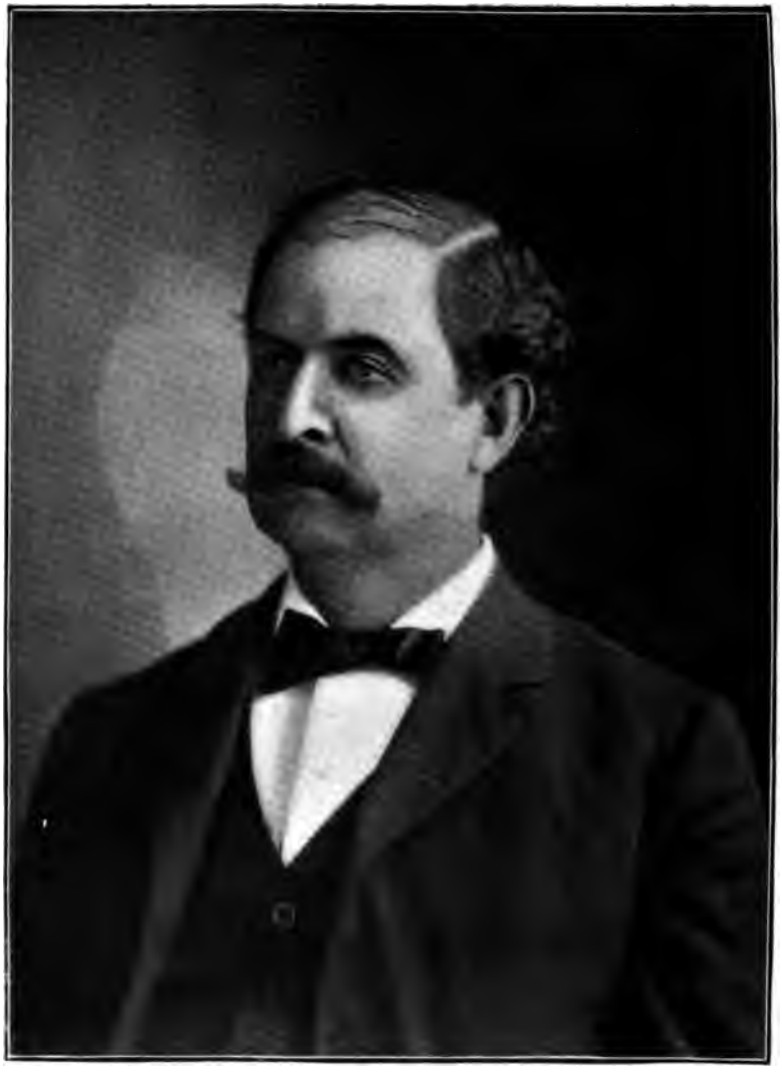
(Born 1847.)

THE gentleman from Pennsylvania told us in opening his speech with what unbiased minds the majority of the committee approached the consideration of this case; how destitute of prejudice or partisan feeling they were when they began; how they just started out to find the right between these two Democrats. Surely, Mr. Speaker, the gentleman did protest too much. (Laughter.) The longer I live the more I am impressed with the necessity for watching the man that doth protest too much, especially when he protests his non-partisanship.

The protestations of the gentleman from Pennsylvania are but another lesson to me to " look out for snakes " when I run up against such an absolutely pure and honest non-partisan. (Laughter and applause.) If he started out as a non-partisan, as he says he did, he became a partisan and got entangled in his " arrangements " further, quicker, and harder than any man I ever knew. (Laughter.) I am too honest to make any such claim for myself. (Laughter.) I confess I started into the case with some partisan feeling.

Mr. Speaker, the contestant, in his speech to-day, devoted much of his time to the statement of his position on the financial question, and the gentleman from Pennsylvania (Mr. Kirkpatrick) told us about the contestant's long and consistent position on this question. The gentleman does not seem to be any more familiar with " Uncle Josiah's " record on the financial question than he is with the real facts in this case.

Colonel Patterson has given expression in his life to some very sound and patriotic sentiments on the silver question. It has only been a few years ago since he canvassed the State of Tennessee and advocated the free and unlimited coinage of silver, and when he wished to stir up the indignation of the people against the Republican party, he would take a silver dollar and, holding it this way — not having the dollar, I must use a penny — he would say: " My fellow



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citizens, there she is; look at her — never disgraced but twice in the history of the world; once by Judas Iscariot, the other time by the Republican party." (Laughter.)

That speech would have to be amended now, and it would have to be said that silver had been disgraced three times — first by Judas Iscariot, next by the Republican party, and last by Josiah Patterson. (Laughter.) Now, understand that I am not asking to have this case decided on the financial issue. I did not get up to make a silver speech. I do not think this case ought to go off on the issue between gold and silver, for if it did it could be decided either way as to the contestant, for he has been on every side.

He is largely responsible for the strong silver and anti-Republican sentiment in Tennessee, for they are Christian people in Tennessee, and they have strong prejudices against Judas Iscariot; and since Colonel Patterson mixed the Republican party up with Judas Iscariot in the disgrace of silver, it has created some prejudice among those Christian people against the Republican party, and you can see why these good people, thus taught, should be shy of voting the Republican ticket. Understand, I am not putting you in company with Judas; only telling where your new-found friend put you. (Laughter.)

Mr. Speaker, before I went into politics, I gave some attention to law. I was pretty well up on the law of estoppel. The gentleman from North Carolina (Mr. Linney), who, I am sorry to see, is not in his seat to-day, said here, some time ago, that Lord Coke said that an estoppel against an estoppel puts the matter at large. (Great laughter and applause.) But I propose to put a number of estoppels against the gentleman to whom we have just listened, Colonel Patterson, and to put him at large.

I propose to show that, if the law of estoppel is applied to him, he has no right to a seat on this floor. His contention is that some negroes who wanted to vote for him were defrauded of their right to do so, and that others who did vote for him had their votes counted for the contestee. While we deny these charges, I propose to show that, if they were true, it does not lie in the mouth of contestant to object, and that he is estopped from doing so.

I will show that, of all the men in the United States, he is the last man who has the right to claim an election to any position by negro votes; that he has always contended that the negro was unfit to vote, had no right to vote; that, though such right might be conferred on him by law, it ought not to be counted; that he has been the Napoleon of the doctrine of white supremacy; or, in other words, that he is to this question what Bob Fitzsimmons is to the prize ring, and that he is to the negro as a voter what General Weyler was to a Cuban

reconcentrado; that he has preached the right of the white man to dominate the negro in politics, in season and out of season, and has been the greatest living apostle of the doctrine that there was a law higher than the Constitution, when the Constitution sought to make the negro the political equal of the white man.

When first elected to Congress, he was elected as the great champion of the free and unlimited coinage of silver, and the great bellwether of the doctrine that the white man must dominate the ballot-box. I remember very well his first great effort on the floor. It was in the Fifty-second Congress, and, as I remember, the House was in Committee of the Whole on some appropriation bill. The contestant in this case got the floor and delivered one of his great orations. I think I am the only man that listened to him. (Laughter.)

I wish you could have heard him that day. He stood right over there; he seemed to think that speech would revolutionize public sentiment throughout the North on the question of the negro in politics. He met the question boldly, and there was about him a sort of air that said his Southern Democratic colleagues had not fully understood the question, and were too timid in its presentation. I have the speech here. Let me see if I can pick out some of the mild compliments he paid the negro as a political factor:

"The negro himself realizes his impotency and unfitness for government."

After speaking of the political revolution throughout the South, which put the negro politically in the background, he said:

"And, without question, he peacefully recognized his white neighbor as the proper governing agency. The movement throughout the South resulted in a better feeling between the races, and kindly relations were restored." * * *

"Midnight meetings, accompanied with fife and drum, were things of the past. The negro could no longer lean on the Freedman's Bureau, draw rations, and spend his days in idleness. He began to learn the lesson of self-reliance, and to realize that he was confronted with the responsibilities which freedom and independence of action bring to all men. The result was that he at once became a more peaceful, industrious, and useful citizen."

Again he says:

"The attitude of the Republican party to the races in the South is heartless and exasperating to the last degree. No other motive seems to actuate it except the lust of power and the greed of men who have been fattened and enriched by the means of prostitution of the powers of government for their benefit."

That is you, gentlemen of the Republican party, he is talking about. (Laughter.) Hear him again:

"All over the South the negro's thriftlessness, ignorance, and indisposition or inaptitude to take care of his own affairs is heard. In such cases, the white man will assert his superior intelligence, courage, and manhood at every hazard, and hold the reins of government. I protest against the further governmental interference or tinkering with it. I protest against the efforts of the Republican party to make it subservient to political and partisan ends."

You see, after denouncing the negro and complimenting the white man, he boldly asserted on this floor that the white man would assert his superior intelligence and courage and manhood, and hold the reins of government at every hazard. When the bill to repeal the Federal Election Law came up in this House on September 30, 1893, you should have heard him thunder then. He spoke with a "mighty power and a great ambition." I will now give you a few extracts from that speech:

"As soon expect Irishmen to forget the 'curse of Cromwell' as for my people to forget 'carpet-bag' governments in the South. I say, and we might as well talk plainly about this thing, the history of that period absolutely demonstrates that the negro race, at this stage of its development, is incapable of self-government, and that universal negro suffrage is impracticable." * * * *

There is much more of this sort of talk in the *Record*, but I will not take the time to read it. These were his conservative utterances on the floor, but were nothing to compare with his bold declarations in the cloakroom. (Laughter.)

The law, Mr. Speaker, recognizes two kinds of estoppels, estoppel by the *Record* and estoppel *in pais*. Now, I have given some of the *Record* estoppels. These extracts I have just read are from the *Record*. Here you see *Record* marked on the book. (Great laughter.)

Now, let us see about the estoppel *in pais*. In Fayette county, in which most of these frauds are alleged to have taken place, at a Confederate reunion, September 11, 1889, the contestant made a speech, in which he said:

"The fact is, he (the negro) prefers to live with the people of the South than with any other; would rather work for them and would sooner look to them than anyone else for favors and kindness. Invariably, he is manipulated in his political movements by white men who have generally forfeited the respect of their neighbors, and who care nothing for the negro but to advance their own interests or ambition.

"This necessarily brings attrition, and the danger line is sometimes reached. The truth is, that everywhere throughout the South the white man asserts his intelligence and capacity for self-government, and the negro never questions his

right to the ascendancy, if let alone. Go into any county in the South, no matter how large the negro majority, and unless you find about the county seat a coterie of white men who lead, direct, or inspire the negro to actively participate in politics, they are altogether indifferent, and leave it to the white people to manage the affairs of the Government. Even the educated negro will remain quiet unless he is backed up by the leadership of white men." * * *

"When asked by what legal or constitutional right the white man asserts his supremacy, we answer, 'There is a higher law,' and appeal to that unwritten law of civilization which is recorded in Heaven and registered in the heart of every brave man, and which has been observed in all ages, in every land, and on every sea, and it is that intelligence, virtue, and manhood should rule the world."

So much for the reunion speech. In his speech on the repeal of the Federal Election Laws, the contestant volunteered the information that he had volunteered his services to defend such parties in the district as were charged in the Federal court with violation of the election laws, and the record shows that Judge Jackson, in trying these cases, had to reprove contestant and warn the jury against contestant's appeal to a "law higher than the Constitution" in making the defense of men charged with defrauding the negroes of their right to vote.

Furthermore, most of the witnesses produced by contestant in this case have sworn that they had stuffed ballot-boxes in the interest of contestant in the previous elections, and that many of them had been defended by him in the Federal court for so doing. Now, these are some of the estoppels *in pais* that I set up against contestant.

(From a speech delivered in the House of Representatives, Friday, April 22, 1898.)

The Race Problem.

By HENRY WATTERSON, of Kentucky.
(Born 1840.)

TWO dangers seem to me at this time to threaten the integrity of the Union and the prosperity of the people. One of these is the gospel of force, and the other is the doctrine of protection. The first is expected to hold the country while its fellow skins it, and to both the Republican party has committed itself.

I wish that it were otherwise. I wish that I could see in the Republicanism of to-day some reflection of the spirit which animated a Garrison and inspired a Whittier, and brought forth in the authors of the anti-slavery movement a modern and a native race of Paladins for a thousand years of song and story. I wish that the men who have succeeded Lincoln and Seward, Chase and Sumner, Fessenden, Trumbull and Greeley in command possessed a little of their moderation and patriotism. When I seek for them I encounter in their places another and a different set of leaders; I am chilled by the implacable hostility of a Sherman and a Hoar; I am amazed by the vindictive and sensational outcries of an Ingalls and a Chandler; I stand aghast before the shameless intrepidity of a Quay, and I find all progress toward the light and warmth of truth completely blocked by the adventurous and unfeeling obesity of a Reed. In my despair I am almost tempted to exclaim —

"O, for a LODGE in some vast wilderness,

* * * * * * * * * * *

Where rumor of oppression and deceit

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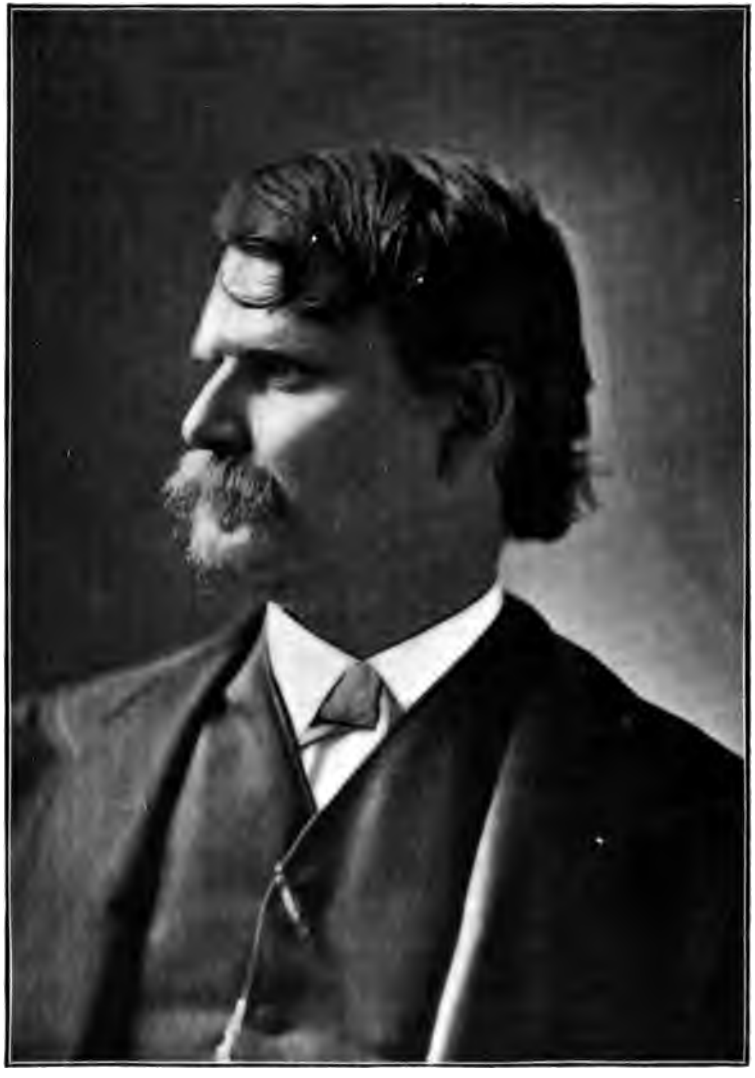
Might never reach me more."

But here again, saddest of all, when I look for independent thinking and the faithful discharge of early promise, I see the aspiring young man of letters turned into the ambitious politician, forgetting in the selfish aims of to-day the disinterested beliefs of yesterday.

The advocates of extreme measures for the South make a very strong and plausible case; indeed, the chief defect about it is that, as was the constitutional



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right of ownership in man, it is too good a case. They set forth the fact that the negro has the constitutional right to vote; that by one means and another this right is denied him, and that it is the duty of the Government to protect all its citizens in all their rights. It is so easy to assert our rights; so easy to tell our own side of the story! There is not a black man in Boston who has not the same right that you and I have to come and go at will; to occupy the best rooms at the hotels; to sit in the stage-boxes of the theaters; to hold the choicest pews in the churches. But what would happen if the blacks should flock in overwhelming numbers to the hotels, the theaters and the churches? And what would the white people of Boston think, what would they do, if a hostile party, having a chance majority in Congress, should pass a law, setting forth the black man's constitutional right of civil equality, creating a system of machinery to enforce it, prescribing pains and penalties to meet acts of violation, and appointing supervisors, deputy marshals and constables, backed by troops, to execute its provisions? Yet the average black man in Boston measures about the distance from the average black man in Alabama, which would be measured, if we could make a diagram by the intellectual territory separating Mr. Frederick Douglass from Mrs. Stowe's ingenious young friend, Miss Topsy St. Clair, and while he cuts no figure in the population of Boston, he is in an actual majority in many parts of Alabama.

If there be corruption in Southern elections, if there be a repression of the black vote, believe me, this is not the way to reach and reform it. Its only effect, if it can be made effectual, will be simply to transfer the corruption and its usufructs from one party to the other, leaving the real question as unsettled as ever. After all the excitement and turmoil incident to the unavoidable collision of races and the inevitable fomentation of sectional passion, we shall have to come back to where we now are. It is just as impossible to make a Southern negro a white man as it is to make a Northern white man a negro, though that is the miracle the Republican leaders are trying to work.

Dear friends, why can't you put yourselves in our place, consider the dreadful burden which this race problem imposes upon us, and, leaving the dead past to bury its dead, why don't you compel your politicians and your editors to treat us like fellow countrymen and fellow citizens, as we are, instead of treating us like rebels and traitors, which we are not? What interest is there of yours that we could harm, if we would, and what motive have we to set ourselves in opposition to any idea which you hold near to your business and bosoms?

I put it to you whether our Senators and Representatives in Congress, those

"Rebel Brigadiers" of whom you have heard so much, have lowered the standards of legislative integrity and public morality? If they have not, but on the contrary they have raised them, is it not time that the right-thinking people of New England should stop and ask their conscience what right they have and what they are to gain by the attempt to apply to the South that which they would not submit to themselves?

(An address before the Massachusetts Reform Club, September 26, 1890.)

The Problem of the Black Man.

By HENRY W. GRADY, of Georgia.
(Born 1851, died 1889.)

"NEVER, sir, has such a task been given to mortal stewardship. Never before in this Republic has the white race divided on the rights of an alien race. The red man was cut down as a weed, because he hindered the way of the American citizen. The yellow man was shut out of this Republic because he is an alien and inferior. The red man was owner of the land — the yellow man highly civilized and assimilable — but they hindered both sections and are gone! But the black man, affecting but one section, is clothed with every privilege of government and pinned to the soil, and my people commanded to make good at any hazard, and at any cost, his full and equal heirship of American privilege and prosperity. We do not shrink from this trial. It is so interwoven with our industrial fabric that we cannot disentangle it if we would — so bound up in our honorable obligation to the world, that we would not if we could. Can we solve it? The God who gave it into our hands, he alone can know. But this the weakest and wisest of us do know; we cannot solve it with less than your tolerant and patient sympathy — with less than the knowledge that the blood that runs in your veins is our blood — and that, when we have done our best, whether the issue be lost or won, we shall feel your strong arms about us and hear the beating of your approving hearts!

The Temper of the South.

"The resolute, clear-headed, broad-minded men of the South — the men whose genius made glorious every page of the first seventy years of American history — whose courage and fortitude you tested in five years of the fiercest war, whose energy has made bricks without straw and spread splendor amid the ashes of their war-wasted homes — these men wear this problem in their hearts and their brains, by day and by night. They realize, as you cannot, what this problem means. We need not go one step further unless you concede right here that the people I speak for are as honest, as sensible, and as just as your people, seeking as earnestly as you would in their place, to rightly solve the

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problem that touches them at every vital point. If you insist that they are ruffians, blindly striving with bludgeon and shotgun to plunder and oppress a race, then I shall sacrifice my self-respect, and tax your patience in vain. But admit that they are men of common sense and common honesty — wisely modifying an environment they cannot wholly disregard — guiding and controlling as best they can the vicious and irresponsible of either race — compensating error with frankness, and retrieving in patience what they lose in passion — and conscious all the time that wrong means ruin — admit this, and we may reach an understanding to-night.

"The President of the United States, in his late message to Congress, discussing the plea that the South should be left to solve this problem, asks: 'Are they at work upon it? What solution do they offer? When will the black man cast a free ballot? When will he have the civil rights that is his?' I shall not here protest against a partisanry that, for the first time in our history, in time of peace, has stamped with the great seal of our Government, a stigma upon the people of a great and loyal section; though I gratefully remember that the great dead soldier who held the helm of State for the eight stormiest years of reconstruction, never found need for such a step; and though there is no personal sacrifice I would not make to remove this cruel and unjust imputation on my people from the archives of my country! We give to the world this year a crop of seven million five hundred thousand bales of cotton, worth four hundred and fifty millions of dollars, and its cash equivalent in grain, grasses, and fruit. This enormous crop could not have come from the hands of sullen and discontented labor. It comes from peaceful fields, in which laughter and gossip rise above the hum of industry, and contentment runs with the singing plow. It is claimed that this ignorant labor is defrauded of its just hire. I present the tax-books of Georgia, which show that the negro, twenty-five years ago a slave, has in Georgia alone ten million dollars of assessed property, worth twice that much. Does not that record honor him, and vindicate his neighbors? What people, penniless, illiterate, has done so well? For every Afro-American agitator, stirring the strife in which alone he prospers, I can show you a thousand negroes, happy in their cabin homes, tilling their own land by day, and at night taking from the lips of their children the helpful message their State sends them from the schoolhouse door. And the schoolhouse itself bears testimony. In Georgia, we added last year two hundred and fifty thousand dollars to the school fund, making a total of more than one million dollars — and this in the face of prejudice not yet conquered, of the fact that the whites are assessed for three hundred and sixty-eight million dollars, the blacks for ten million dollars, and yet forty-nine per cent. of the beneficiaries are black children — and in the

doubt of many wise men if education helps, or can help, our problem. Charleston, with her taxable values cut half in two since 1860, pays more in proportion for public schools than Boston. Although it is easier to give much out of much than little out of little, the South with one-seventh of the taxable property of the country, with relatively larger debt, having received only one-twelfth as much of public lands, and having back of its tax-books none of the half-billion of bonds that enrich the North — and though it pays annually twenty-six million dollars to your section as pensions — yet gives nearly one-sixth of the public school fund.

Education.

"The South, since '65, has spent one hundred and twenty-two million dollars in education, and this year is pledged to thirty-seven million dollars more for State and city schools, although the blacks paying one-thirtieth of the taxes get nearly one-half of the fund. Go into our fields and see whites and blacks working side by side. On our buildings in the same squad. In our shops at the same forge. Often the blacks crowd the white from work, for lower wages by their greater need or simpler habits, and yet are permitted, because we want to bar them from no avenue in which their feet are fitted to tread. They could not there be elected orators of white universities, as they have been here, but they do enter there, a hundred useful trades that are closed against them here. We hold it better and wiser to tend the weeds in the garden than to water the exotic in the window. In the South there are negro lawyers, teachers, editors, dentists, doctors, preachers, multiplying with the increasing ability of their race to support them. In villages and towns they have their military companies equipped from the armories of the State, their churches and societies built and supported largely by their neighbors. What is the testimony of the courts? In penal legislation we have steadily reduced felonies to misdemeanors, and have led the world in mitigating punishment for crime, that we might save, as far as possible, this dependent race from its own weakness. In our penitentiary record sixty per cent. of the prosecutors are negroes, and in every court the negro criminal strikes the colored juror, that white men may judge his case. In the North, one negro in every one hundred and eighty-five is in jail — in the South, only one in four hundred and forty-six. In the North, the percentage of negro prisoners is six times as great as that of native whites — in the South, only four times as great. If prejudice wrongs him in Southern courts, the record shows it to be deeper in Northern courts.

"Now, Mr. President, can it be seriously maintained that we are terroriz-

ing the people from whose willing hands comes every year one billion dollars of farm crops? Or have robbed a people, who in twenty-five years from unrewarded slavery have amassed in one State twenty million dollars of property? Or that we intend to oppress the people we are arming every day? Or deceive them, when we are educating them to the utmost limit of our ability? Or outlaw them when we work side by side with them?"

Alleged Intimidation.

As to the charges of disorder, violence and intimidation, Mr. Grady said that every incident of the sort in the South was exaggerated and distorted for partisan effect. "When will the black cast a free ballot?" he asked.

"When ignorance anywhere is not dominated by the will of the intelligent. When a laborer anywhere casts a vote unhindered by his boss. When the vote of the poor anywhere is not influenced by the power of the rich. When the strong and the steadfast do not everywhere control the suffrage of the weak and shiftless — then and not till then will the ballot of the negro be free. Let us see: Virginia cast in 1888 seventy-five per cent. of her vote. Massachusetts, the State in which I speak, sixty per cent. of her vote. Was it suppression in Virginia and natural causes in Massachusetts? Last month Virginia cast sixty-nine per cent. of her vote, and Massachusetts, fighting in every district, cast only forty-nine per cent. of hers. If Virginia is condemned because thirty-one per cent. of her vote was silent, how shall this State escape in which fifty-one per cent. was dumb? Let us enlarge this comparison. The sixteen Southern States in '88 cast sixty-seven per cent. of their total vote — the six New England States but sixty-three per cent. of theirs. By what fair rule shall the stigma be put upon one section, while the other escapes?

"What invites the negro to the ballot-box? He knows that of all men, it has promised him most and yielded him least. His first appeal to suffrage was the promise of "forty acres and a mule." His second, the threat that Democratic success meant his re-enslavement. Both have been proved false in his experience. He looked for a home, and he got the Freedman's Bank. He fought under promise of the loaf, and in victory was denied the crumbs. Discouraged and deceived, he has realized at last that his best friends are his neighbors with whom his lot is cast, and whose prosperity is bound up in his — and that he has gained nothing in politics to compensate the loss of their confidence and sympathy that is at least his best and his enduring hope.

"You may pass force bills, but they will not avail. You may surrender your own liberties to Federal election law, you may submit, in fear of a necessity

that does not exist, that the very form of this Government may be changed — this old State which holds in its charter the boast that it 'is a free and independent commonwealth' may deliver its election machinery into the hands of the Government is helped to create — but never, sir, will a single State of this Union, North or South, be delivered again to the control of an ignorant and inferior race. If the negro had not been enfranchised, the South would have been divided and the Republic united. His enfranchisement — against which I enter no protests — holds the South united and compact. What solution then can we offer for the problem? Time alone can disclose it to us. We simply report progress and ask your patience. If the problem be solved at all — and I firmly believe it will, though nowhere else has it been — it will be solved by the people most deeply bound in interest, most deeply pledged in honor to its solution. I had rather see my people render back this question rightly solved than to see them gather all the spoils over which faction has contended since Cataline conspired, and Cæsar fought. Meantime we treat the negro fairly, measuring to him justice in the fullness the strong should give to the weak, and leading him in the steadfast ways of citizenship that he may no longer be the prey of the unscrupulous and the sport of the thoughtless. We open to him every pursuit in which he can prosper, and seek to broaden his training and capacity.

"The love we feel for that race you cannot measure nor comprehend. As I attest it here, the spirit of my old black mammy, from her home up there, looks down to bless, and through the tumult of this night, steals the sweet music of her croonings as thirty years ago she held me in her black arms and led me smiling in to sleep.

America's Mission.

"I stand here, Mr. President, to profess no new loyalty. When General Lee, whose heart was the temple of our hopes and whose arm was clothed with our strength, renewed his allegiance to this Government at Appomattox, he spoke from a heart too great to be false, and he spoke for every honest man from Maryland to Texas. From that day to this, Hamilcar has nowhere in the South sworn young Hannibal to hatred and vengeance — but everywhere to loyalty and to love. Witness the veteran standing at the base of a Confederate monument, above the graves of his comrades, his empty sleeve tossing in the April wind, adjuring the young men about him, to serve as earnest and loyal citizens the Government against which their fathers fought. This message, delivered from that sacred presence, has gone home to the hearts of my fellows! And, sir, I declare here, if physical courage be always equal to human aspiration, that they would die, sir, if need be, to restore this Republic their fathers fought to dissolve!

"Such, Mr. President, is this problem as we see it, such is the temper in which we approach it, such the progress made. What do we ask of you? First, patience; out of this alone can come perfect work. Second, confidence; in this alone can you judge fairly. Third, sympathy; in this you can help us best. Fourth, give us your sons as hostages. When you plant your capital in millions, send your sons that they may know how true are our hearts and may help to swell the Anglo-Saxon current until it can carry without danger this black infusion. Fifth, loyalty to the Republic — for there is sectionalism in loyalty as in estrangement. This hour little needs the loyalty that is loyal to one section and yet holds the other in enduring suspicion and estrangement.

"A mighty duty, sir, and a mighty inspiration impels every one of us to-night to lose in patriotic consecration whatever estranges, whatever divides. We, sir, are Americans — and we fight for human liberty! The uplifting force of the American idea is under every throne on earth. France, Brazil — these are our victories. To redeem the earth from kingcraft and oppression — this is our mission! And we shall not fail. God has sown in our soil the seed of his millennial harvest, and he will not lay the sickle to the ripening crop until his full and perfect day has come. Our history, sir, has been a constant and expanding miracle from Plymouth Rock and Jamestown all the way — aye, even from the hour when, from the voiceless and trackless ocean, a new world rose to the sight of the inspired sailor. As we approach the fourth centennial of that stupendous day — when the old world will come to marvel and to learn amid our gathered treasures — let us resolve to crown the miracles of our past, with the spectacle of a Republic compact, united, indissoluble in the bonds of love — loving from the Lakes to the Gulf — the wounds of war healed in every heart as on every hill — serene and resplendent at the summit of human achievement and earthly glory — blazing out the path, and making clear the way up which all the nations of the earth must come in God's appointed time!"

(A speech delivered at the annual banquet of the Boston Merchants' Association, in Boston, December 14, 1889.)

The New South.

By HENRY W. GRADY, of Georgia.

(Born 1851, died 1889.)

"THERE was a South of slavery and secession — that South is dead. There is a South of union and freedom — that South, thank God, is living, breathing, growing every hour." These words, delivered from the immortal lips of Benjamin H. Hill, at Tammany Hall, in 1866, true then, and truer now, I shall make my text to-night.

Mr. President and Gentlemen: Let me express to you my appreciation of the kindness by which I am permitted to address you. I make this abrupt acknowledgment advisedly, for I feel that if, when I raised my provincial voice in this ancient and august presence, I could find courage for no more than the opening sentence, it would be well if, in that sentence, I had met in a rough sense my obligation as a guest, and had perished, so to speak, with courtesy on my lips and grace in my heart.

Permitted, through your kindness, to catch my second wind, let me say that I appreciate the significance of being the first Southerner to speak at this board, which bears the substance, if it surpasses the semblance of original New England hospitality, and honors a sentiment that in turn honors you, but in which my personality is lost and the compliment to my people made plain.

I bespeak the utmost stretch of your courtesy to-night. I am not troubled about those from whom I come. You remember the man whose wife sent him to a neighbor with a pitcher of milk, and who, tripping on the top step, fell, with such casual interruptions as the landings afforded, into the basement; and, while picking himself up, had the pleasure of hearing his wife call out:

"John, did you break the pitcher?"

"No, I didn't," said John, "but I bedinged if I don't."

So, while those who call to me from behind may inspire me with energy, if not with courage, I ask an indulgent hearing from you. I beg that you will bring your full faith in American fairness and frankness to judgment upon what I shall say. There was an old preacher once who told some boys of the Bible lesson he was going to read in the morning. The boys, finding the place, glued together the connecting pages. The next morning he read on the bottom of

one page: "When Noah was one hundred and twenty years old he took unto himself a wife, who was" then turning the page "one hundred and forty cubits long, forty cubits wide, built of gopher wood, and covered with pitch inside and out." He was naturally puzzled at this. He read it again, verified it, and then said: "My friends, this is the first time I ever met this in the Bible, but I accept it as an evidence of the assertion that we are fearfully and wonderfully made." If I could get you to hold such faith to-night, I could proceed cheerfully to the task I otherwise approach with a sense of consecration.

Pardon me one word, Mr. President, spoken for the sole purpose of getting into the volumes that go out annually freighted with the rich eloquence of your speakers — the fact that the Cavalier, as well as the Puritan, was on the continent in its early days, and that he was "up and able to be about." I have read your books carefully and I find no mention of that fact, which seems to me an important one for preserving a sort of historical equilibrum, if for nothing else.

Let me remind you that the Virginia Cavalier first challenged France on this continent, that Cavalier John Smith gave New England its very name, and was so pleased with the job that he has been handing his own name around ever since, and that while Miles Standish was cutting off men's ears for courting a girl without her parents' consent, and forbade men to kiss their wives on Sunday, the Cavalier was courting everything in sight, and that the Almighty had vouchsafed great increase to the Cavalier colonies, the huts in the wilderness being as full as the nests in the woods.

But having incorporated the Cavalier as a fact in your charming little book, I shall let him work out his own salvation, as he has always done with engaging gallantry, and we will hold no controversy as to his merits. Why should we? Neither Puritan nor Cavalier long survived as such. The virtues and traditions of both happily still live for the inspiration of their sons and the saving of the old fashion. Both Puritan and Cavalier were lost in the storm of the first Revolution, and the American citizen, supplanting both, and stronger than either, took possession of the Republic bought by their common blood and fashioned to wisdom, and charged himself with teaching men government and establishing the voice of the people as the voice of God.

My friend, Dr. Talmage, has told you that the typical American has yet to come. Let me tell you that he has already come. Great types, like valuable plants, are slow to flower and fruit. But from the union of these colonist Puritans and Cavaliers, from the straightening of their purposes and the crossing of their blood, slow perfecting through a century, came he who stands as the first typical American, the first who comprehended within himself all the strength and gentleness, all the majesty and grace of this Republic — **Abraham Lincoln.**

He was the sum of Puritan and Cavalier; for in his ardent nature were fused the virtues of both, and in the depths of his great soul the faults of both were lost. He was greater than Puritan, greater than Cavalier, in that he was American, and that in his homely form were first gathered the vast and thrilling forces of his ideal government, charging it with such tremendous meaning, and so elevating it above human suffering, that martyrdom, though infamously aimed, came as a fitting crown to a life consecrated from the cradle to human liberty. Let us, each cherishing the traditions and honoring his fathers, build with reverent hands to the type of his simple but sublime life, in which all types are honored; and in our common glory as Americans there will be plenty and some to spare for your forefathers and for mine.

In speaking to the toast with which you have honored me, I accept the term, "The New South," as in no sense disparaging to the old. Dear to me, sir, is the home of my childhood and the traditions of my people. I would not, if I could, dim the glory they won in peace and war, or by word or deed take aught from the splendor and grace of their civilization, never equaled, and, perhaps, never to be equaled in its chivalric strength and grace. There is a New South, not through protest against the old, but because of new conditions, new adjustments, and, if you please, new ideas and aspirations. It is to this that I address myself, and to the consideration of which I hasten, lest it become the Old South before I get to it. Age does not endow all things with strength and virtue, nor are all new things to be despised. The shoemaker who put over his door, "John Smith's shop, founded in 1760," was more than matched by his young rival across the street who hung out this sign: "Bill Jones. Established 1886. No old stock kept in this shop."

Dr. Talmage has drawn for you, with a master hand, the picture of your returning armies. He has told you how, in the pomp and circumstance of war, they came back to you, marching with proud and victorious tread, reading their glory in a nation's eyes. Will you bear with me while I tell you of another army that sought its home at the close of the late war? An army that marched home in defeat and not in victory — in pathos and not in splendor, but in glory that equaled yours, and to hearts as loving as ever welcomed heroes home. Let me picture to you the foot-sore Confederate soldier, as, buttoning up in his faded gray jacket the parole which was to bear testimony to his children of his fidelity and faith, he turned his face southward from Appomattox in April, 1865. Think of him as ragged, half-starved, heavy hearted, enfeebled by want and wounds; having fought to exhaustion, he surrenders his gun, wrings the hands of his comrades in silence, and, lifting his tear-stained and pallid face for the last time to the graves that dot the old Virginia hills, pulls his gray cap

over his brow and begins the slow and painful journey. What does he find? — let me ask you who went to your homes eager to find, in the welcome you had justly earned, full payment for four years' sacrifice — what does he find when, having followed the battle-stained cross against overwhelming odds, dreading death not half so much as surrender, he reaches the home he left so prosperous and beautiful? He finds his house in ruins, his farm devastated, his slaves free, his stock killed, his barn empty, his trade destroyed, his money worthless; his social system, feudal in its magnificence, swept away; his people without law or legal status; his comrades slain, and the burdens of others heavy on his shoulders. Crushed by defeat, his very traditions gone; without money, credit, employment, material training; and besides all this, confronted with the gravest problem that ever met human intelligence — the establishing of a status for the vast body of liberated slaves.

What does he do — this hero in gray with a heart of gold? Does he sit down in sullenness and despair? Not for a day. Surely God, who had stripped him of his prosperity, inspired him in his adversity. As ruin was never before so overwhelming, never was restoration swifter. The soldier stepped from the trenches into the furrow; horses that had charged Federal guns marched before the plow, and fields that ran red with human blood in April were green with the harvest of June; women reared in luxury cut up their dresses and made breeches for their husbands, and, with a patience and heroism that fit women always as a garment, gave their hands to work. There was little bitterness in all this. Cheerfulness and frankness prevailed. "Bill Arp" struck the key-note when he said: "Well, I killed as many of them as they did of me, and now I am going to work." Or the soldier returning home after defeat and roasting some corn on the roadside, who made the remark to his comrades: "You may leave the South if you want to, but I am going to Sandersville, kiss my wife and raise a crop, and if the Yankees fool with me any more I will whip 'em again." I want to say of General Sherman — who is considered an able man in our parts, though some people think he is kind of careless about fire — that from the ashes he left us in 1864 we have raised a brave and beautiful city; that somehow or other we have caught the sunshine in the bricks and mortar of our homes, and have builded therein not one ignoble prejudice or memory.

But in all this what have we accomplished? What is the sum of our work? We have found out that in the general summary the free negro counts more than he did as a slave. We have planted the schoolhouse on the hill top and made it free to white and black. We have sowed towns and cities in the place of theories, and put business above politics. We have challenged your spinners in Massachusetts and your iron makers in Pennsylvania. We have learned that

the four hundred million dollars annually received from our cotton crop will make us rich, when the supplies that make it are home-raised. We have reduced the commercial rate from twenty-four to four per cent., and are floating four per cent. bonds. We have learned that one Northern emigrant is worth fifty foreigners, and have smoothed the path to southward, wiped out the place where Mason and Dixon's line used to be, and hung our latchstring to you and yours.

We have reached the point that marks perfect harmony in every household, when the husband confesses that the pies which his wife cooks are as good as those his mother used to bake; and we admit that the sun shines as brightly and the moon as softly as it did " before the war." We have established thrift in the city and country. We have fallen in love with work. We have restored comfort to homes from which culture and elegance never departed. We have let economy take root and spread among us as rank as the crab grass which sprung from Sherman's cavalry camps, until we are ready to lay odds on the Georgia Yankee, as he manufactures relics of the battlefield in a one-story shanty and squeezes pure olive oil out of his cotton seed, against any down-easter that ever swapped wooden nutmegs for flannel sausages in the valley of Vermont.

Above all, we know that we have achieved in these " piping times of peace," a fuller independence for the South than that which our fathers sought to win in the forum by their eloquence, or compel on the field by their swords.

It is a rare privilege, sir, to have had part, however humble, in this work. Never was nobler duty confided to human hands than the uplifting and upbuilding of the prostrate and bleeding South, misguided, perhaps, but beautiful in her suffering, and honest, brave, and generous always. In the record of her social, industrial, and political illustrations we await with confidence the verdict of the world.

But what of the negro? Have we solved the problem he presents, or progressed in honor and equity toward the solution? Let the record speak to the point. No section shows a more prosperous laboring population than the negroes of the South; none in fuller sympathy with the employing and land-owning class. He shares our school fund, has the fullest protection of our laws, and the friendship of our people. Self-interest, as well as honor, demand that they should have this. Our future, our very existence, depends upon our working out this problem in full and exact justice. We understand that when Lincoln signed the Emancipation Proclamation, your victory was assured; for he then committed you to the cause of human liberty, against which the arms of man cannot prevail; while those of our statesmen who trusted to make slavery the corner stone of the Confederacy doomed us to defeat as far as they could, committing us to a cause that reason could not defend or the sword maintain in the

sight of advancing civilization. Had Mr. Toombs said, which he did not say, that he would call the roll of his slaves at the foot of Bunker Hill, he would have been foolish, for he might have known that whenever slavery became entangled in war it must perish, and that the chattel in human flesh ended forever in New England when your fathers — not to be blamed for parting with what did not pay — sold their slaves to our fathers, not to be praised for knowing a paying thing when they saw it.

The relations of the Southern people with the negro are close and cordial. We remember with what fidelity for four years he guarded our defenseless women and children, whose husbands and fathers were fighting against his freedom. To his credit be it said that whenever he struck a blow for his own liberty he fought in open battle, and when at last he raised his black and humble hands that the shackles might be struck off, those hands were innocent of wrong against his helpless charges, and worthy to be taken in loving grasp by every man who honors loyalty and devotion.

Ruffians have maltreated him, rascals have misled him, philanthropists established a bank for him, but the South with the North protest against injustice to this simple and sincere people. To liberty and enfranchisement is as far as the law can carry the negro. The rest must be left to conscience and common sense. It should be left to those among whom his lot is cast, with whom he is indissolubly connected and whose prosperity depends upon their possessing his intelligent sympathy and confidence. Faith has been kept with him in spite of calumnious assertions to the contrary by those who assume to speak for us, or by frank opponents. Faith will be kept with him in future if the South holds her reason and integrity.

But have we kept faith with you? In the fullest sense, yes. When Lee surrendered — I don't say when Johnson surrendered, because I understand he still alludes to the time when he met General Sherman last as the time when he "determined to abandon any further prosecution of the struggle" — when Lee surrendered, I say, and Johnson quit, the South became, and has been, loyal to the Union. We fought hard enough to know that we were whipped, and in perfect frankness accepted as final the arbitrament of the sword to which we had appealed. The South found her jewel in the toad's head of defeat. The shackles that had held her in narrow limitations fell forever when the shackles of the negro slave were broken.

Under the old regime the negroes were slaves to the South, the South was a slave to the system. The old plantation, with its simple police regulation and its feudal habit, was the only type possible under slavery. Thus was gathered in the hands of a splendid and chivalric oligarchy the substance that should

have been diffused among the people, as the rich blood, under certain artificial conditions, is gathered at the heart, filling that with affluent rapture, but leaving the body chill and colorless.

The old South rested everything on slavery and agriculture, unconscious that these could neither give nor maintain healthy growth. The new South presents a perfect democracy, the oligarchs leading in the popular movement — a social system compact and closely knitted, less splendid on the surface but stronger at the core; a hundred farms for every plantation, fifty homes for every palace, and a diversified industry that meets the complex needs of this complex age.

The new South is enamored of her new work. Her soul is stirred with the breath of a new life. The light of a grander day is falling fair on her face. She is thrilling with the consciousness of a growing power and prosperity. As she stands upright, full-statured and equal among the people of the earth, breathing the keen air and looking out upon the expanding horizon, she understands that her emancipation came because, in the inscrutable wisdom of God, her honest purpose was crossed and her brave armies were beaten.

This is said in no spirit of time-serving or apology. The South has nothing for which to apologize. She believes that the late struggle between the States was war and not rebellion, revolution and not conspiracy, and that her convictions were as honest as yours. I should be unjust to the dauntless spirit of the South and to my own convictions if I did not make this plain in this presence. The South has nothing to take back. In my native town of Athens is a monument that crowns its central hills — a plain, white shaft. Deep cut into its shining side is a name dear to me above the names of men, that of a brave and simple man who died in brave and simple faith. Not for all the glories of New England — from Plymouth Rock all the way — would I exchange the heritage he left me in his soldier's death. To the feet of that shaft I shall send my children's children to reverence him who ennobled their name with his heroic blood. But, sir, speaking from the shadow of that memory, which I honor as I do nothing else on earth, I say that the cause in which he suffered and for which he gave his life was adjudged by higher and fuller wisdom than his or mine, and I am glad that the omniscient God held the balance of battle in his Almighty hand, and that human slavery was swept forever from American soil — the American Union saved from the wreck of war.

This message, Mr. President, comes to you from consecrated ground. Every foot of the soil about the city in which I live is as sacred as a battle-ground of the Republic. Every hill that invests it is hallowed by the blood of your brothers who died for your victory, and doubly hallowed to us by the

blood of those who died hopeless, but undaunted, in defeat — sacred soil to all of us, rich with memories that make us purer and stronger and better, silent but staunch witnesses in its red desolation of the matchless valor of American hearts and the deathless glory of American arms — speaking an eloquent witness in its white peace and prosperity to the indissoluble union of American States and the unperishable brotherhood of the American people.

Now, what answer has New England to this message? Will she permit the prejudice of war to remain in the hearts of the conquerors, when it has died in the hearts of the conquered? Will she transmit this prejudice to the next generation, that in their hearts, which never felt the generous ardor of conflict, it may perpetuate itself? Will she withhold, save in strained courtesy, the hand which, straight from the soldier's heart, Grant offered to Lee at Appomattox? Will she make the vision of a restored and happy people, which gathered above the couch of your dying captain, filling his heart with grace, touching his lips with praise and glorifying his path to the grave; will she make this vision on which the last sigh of his expiring soul breathed a benediction, a cheat and a delusion? If she does, the South, never abject in asking for comradeship, must accept with dignity its refusal; but if she does not — if she accepts with frankness and sincerity this message of good-will and friendship, then will the prophecy of Webster, delivered in this very society forty years ago, amid tremendous applause, be verified in its fullest and final sense, when he said: "Standing hand to hand and clasping hands, we should remain united as we have been for sixty years, citizens of the same country, members of the same government, united, all united now and united forever." There have been difficulties, contentions, and controversies, but I tell you that in my judgment

> "Those opposed eyes,
> Which like the meteors of a troubled heaven,
> All of one nature, of one substance bred,
> Did lately meet in th' intestine shock,
> Shall now in mutual well beseeming ranks
> March all one way."

(Being the celebrated address before the New England Society at its annual banquet in New York on the night of December 22, 1886.)

The Maine Dead.

By ROBERT G. COUSINS, of Iowa.

MR. SPEAKER, whether this measure shall prevail, either in the form in which it has come from the committee or in the form as proposed in the amendment, it is both appropriate and just; but hardly is it mentionable in contemplation of the great calamity to which it appertains. It will be an incidental legislative footnote to a page of history that shall be open to the eyes of this Republic and of the world for all time to come. No human speech can add anything to the silent gratitude, the speechless reverence, already given by a great and grateful nation to its dead defenders, and to their living kin. No act of Congress providing for their needs can be a restitution for their sacrifice. Human nature does, in many ways, its best, and still feels deep in debt.

Expressions of condolence have come from every country and from every clime, and every nerve of steel and ocean cable has carried on electric breath the sweetest and tenderest words of sympathy for that gallant crew who manned *The Maine*. But no human recompense can reach them. Humanity and time remain their everlasting debtors.

It was a brave and strong and splendid crew. They were a part of the blood and bone and sinew of our land. Two of them were from my native State of Iowa. Some were only recently at the United States Naval Academy, where they had so often heard the morning and the evening salutation to the flag — that flag which had been interwoven with the dearest memories of their lives, that had colored all their friendships with the lasting blue of true fidelity. But whether they came from naval school or civil life, from one State or another, they called each other comrade — that gem of human language which sometimes means but a little less than love and a little more than friendship, that gentle salutation of the human heart which lives in all the languages of man, that winds and turns and runs through all the joys and sorrows of the human race, through deed and thought and dream, through song and toil and battlefield.

No foe had ever challenged them. The world can never know how brave they were. They never knew defeat; they never shall. While at their posts

ROBERT G. COUSINS.

of duty sleep lured them into the abyss; then death unlocked their slumbering eyes but for an instant to behold its dreadful carnival, most of them just when life was full of hope and all its tides were at their highest, grandest flow; just when the early sunbeams were falling on the steppes of fame and flooding all life's landscape far out into the dreamy, distant horizon; just at that age when all the nymphs were making diadems and garlands, waving laurel wreaths before the eyes of young and eager nature — just then, when death seemed most unnatural.

Hovering above the dark waters of that mysterious harbor of Havana, the black-winged vulture watches for the dead, while over it and over all there is the eagle's piercing eye sternly watching for the truth.

Whether the appropriation carried by this resolution shall be ultimately charged to fate or to some foe shall soon appear. Meanwhile a patient and a patriotic people, enlightened by the lessons of our history, remembering the woes of war, both to the vanquished and victorious, are ready for the truth and ready for their duty.

"The tumult and the shouting dies —
The captains and the kings depart —
Still stands thine ancient sacrifice,
An humble and a contrite heart.
Lord God of Hosts, be with us yet,
Lest we forget — lest we forget."

(A speech delivered in the House of Representatives, March 21, 1898.)

Philippines.

By GEORGE F. HOAR, of Massachusetts.

(Born 1826.)

I STAND here to-day to plead with you not to abandon the principles that have brought these things to pass. I implore you to keep to the policy that has made the country great, that has made the Republican party great, that has made the President great. I have nothing new to say. But I ask you to keep in the old channels, and to keep off the old rocks laid down in the old charts, and to follow the old sailing orders that all the old captains of other days have obeyed, to take your bearings, as of old, from the north star,

> Of whose true fixed and resting quality
> There is no fellow in the firmament,

and not from this meteoric light of empire.

Especially, if I could, would I persuade the great Republican party to come back again to its old faith, to its old religion, before it is too late. There is yet time. The President has said again and again that his is only an *ad interim* policy until Congress shall act. It is not yet too late. Congress has rejected, unwisely, as I think, some declarations of freedom. But the two houses have not as yet committed themselves to despotism. The old, safe path, the path alike of justice and of freedom, is still easy. It is a path familiar, of old, to the Republican party. If we have diverged from it for the first time, everything in our history, everything in our own nature calls us back. The great preacher of the English church tells you how easy is the return of a great and noble nature from the first departure from rectitude:

"For so a taper, when its crown of flame is newly blown off, retains a nature so symbolical to light, that it will with greediness re-enkindle and snatch a ray from the neighbor fire."

I for one believed and still believe that the pathway to prosperity and glory for the country was also the pathway to success and glory for the Republican

GEORGE F. HOAR.

party. I thought the two things inseparable. If, when we made the treaty of peace, we had adhered to the purpose we declared when we declared war; if we had dealt with the Philippine Islands as we promised to deal, have dealt, and expect to deal with Cuba, the country would have escaped the loss of six thousand brave soldiers, other thousands of wrecked and shattered lives, the sickness of many more, the expenditure of hundreds of millions, and, what is far worse than all, the trampling under foot of its cherished ideals. There would have been to-day a noble republic in the East, sitting docile at our feet, receiving from us civilization, laws, manners, and giving in turn everything the gratitude of a free people could give — love, obedience, trade. The Philippine youth would throng our universities; our Constitution, our Declaration, the lives of Washington and Lincoln, the sayings of Jefferson and Franklin would have been the text-books of their schools. How our orators and poets would have delighted to contrast America liberating and raising up the republic of Asia, with England subduing and trampling under foot the republic of Africa. Nothing at home could have withstood the great party and the great President who had done these things. We should have come from the next election with a solid North and have carried half the South. You would at least have been spared the spectacle of great Republican States rising in revolt against Republican policies. * * *

I believe, Mr. President, not only that perseverance in this policy will be the abandonment of the principles upon which our Government is founded, that it will change our Republic into an empire, that our methods of legislation, of diplomacy, of administration must hereafter be those which belong to empires, and not those which belong to republics; but I believe persistence in this attempt will result in the defeat and overthrow of the Republican party. That defeat may not come this year, or next year. I pray God it may never come. I well remember when the old Whig party, in the flush of delirium and anticipated triumph, gave up the great doctrines which it had so often avowed, and undertook to abandon the great territory between the Mississippi and the Pacific to its fate. It held its convention at Philadelphia. It selected as its candidate a great military chieftain. Amid the tempest and delirium a quiet delegate from my own State arose and declared to the convention that the Whig party was dead. It seemed that a more audacious, a more foolish, a more astounding utterance never fell upon human ears. And what was the result? The party carried the country and elected its President. And within less than four years thereafter Daniel Webster, as he lay dying at Marshfield, said, "The Whig party as a political organization is gone; and it is well."

Let no such fate attend the Republican party. In my judgment, if not now, it will retrace its steps in time.

The practical question which divided the American people last year, and which divides them to-day, is this: Whether in protecting the people of the Philippine Islands from the ambition and cupidity of other nations, we are bound to protect them from our own.

Edward Everett concludes that masterpiece of consummate oratory, his address on the character of Washington:

"Let us make a national festival and holiday of his birthday; and ever as the 22d of February returns let us remember that while with these solemn and joyous rites of observance we celebrate the great anniversary, our fellow citizens on the Hudson, on the Potomac, from the Southern plains to the Western lakes, are engaged in the same offices of gratitude and love. Nor we, nor they alone. Beyond the Ohio, beyond the Mississippi, along that stupendous trail of immigration from the East to the West, which bursting into States as it moves westward, is already threading the Western prairies, swarming through the portals of the Rocky mountains and winding down their slopes, the name and the memory of Washington on that gracious night will travel with the silver queen of heaven through sixty degrees of longitude, nor part company with her till she walks in her brightness through the Golden Gate of California and passes serenely on to hold midnight court with her Australian stars. There and there only, in barbarous archipelagos, as yet untrodden by civilized man, the name of Washington is unknown; and there, too, when they swarm with enlightened millions, new honors shall be paid with ours to his memory."

The time which the orator predicted came. In that Eastern archipelago, no longer the home of barbarism, a people had achieved their independence and thrown off the yoke of centuries. They were longing for civilization, education, and liberty. To the millions with which that land is swarming, in the dawning of a new light the name of Washington has become familiar. But, alas, the people are citing his example to protect their own liberties against his countrymen. They are nearly threefold in number the people to whom his Farewell Address was delivered. Pray to God that that revered and beautiful character, our shield so often against distempered folly and unhallowed ambition, may be theirs also.

In dealing with this question, Mr. President, I do not mean to enter upon any doubtful ground. I shall advance no proposition ever seriously disputed in this country till within twelve months. I shall cite no authority that is not by the common consent of all parties and all men of all shades of opinion recognized as among the very weightiest in jurisprudence and in the conduct

of the State. I shall claim nothing as fact which is not abundantly proven by the evidence of the great commanders who conducted this war; by evidence coming from the President and the heads of departments, or persons for whose absolute trustworthiness these authorities vouch.

If to think as I do in regard to the interpretation of the Constitution; in regard to the mandates of the moral law or the law of nations, to which all men and all nations must render obedience; in regard to the policies which are wisest for the conduct of the State, or in regard to those facts of recent history in the light of which we have acted or are to act hereafter, be treason, then Washington was a traitor; then Jefferson was a traitor; then Jackson was a traitor; then Franklin was a traitor; then Sumner was a traitor; then Lincoln was a traitor; then Webster was a traitor; then Clay was a traitor; then Corwin was a traitor; then Kent was a traitor; then Seward was a traitor; then McKinley, within two years, was a traitor; then the Supreme Court of the United States has been in the past a nest and hotbed of treason; then the people of the United States, for more than a century, have been traitors to their own flag and their own Constitution.

We are presented with an issue that can be clearly and sharply stated as a question of constitutional power, a question of international law, a question of justice and righteousness, or a question of public expediency. This can be stated clearly and sharply in the abstract, and it can be put clearly and sharply by an illustration growing out of existing facts.

The constitutional question is: Has Congress the power, under our Constitution, to hold in subjection unwilling vassal States?

The question of international law is: Can any nation rightfully convey to another sovereignty over an unwilling people who have thrown off its dominion, asserted their independence, established a government of their own, over whom it has at the time no practical control, from whose territory it has been disseized, and which it is beyond its power to deliver?

The question of justice and righteousness is: Have we the right to crush and hold under our feet an unwilling and subject people whom we have treated as allies, whose independence we are bound in good faith to respect, who had established their own free government, and who had trusted us?

The question of public expediency is: Is it for our advantage to promote our trade at the cannon's mouth and at the point of the bayonet?

All these questions can be put in a way of practical illustration by inquiring whether we ought to do what we have done, are doing, and mean to do in the case of Cuba; or what we have done, are doing, and some of you mean to do in the case of the Philippine Islands? * * *

(From a speech delivered in the United States Senate, April 17, 1900.)

The Philippines.

By HENRY CABOT LODGE, of Massachusetts.
(Born 1850.)

THE questions involved in the future management of these islands, and in our policy in the far East, are of a nature to demand the highest and the most sagacious statesmanship. I have always thought with Webster that party politics should cease "at the water's edge." He spoke only in reference to our relations with foreign nations, but I think we might well apply his patriotic principle to our dealings with our own insular possessions, both in the Atlantic and the Pacific. The Philippines should be an American question, not the sport of parties or the subject of party creeds. The responsibility for them rests upon the American people, not upon the Democratic or Republican party. If we fail in dealing with them, we shall all alike suffer from the failure, and if we succeed, the honor and the profit will redound in the end to the glory and the benefit of all. This view no doubt seems visionary. It certainly ought not to be so, and in time I believe it will be accepted. Unfortunately it is not the case to-day.

One of the great political parties of the country has seen fit to make what is called "an issue" of the Philippines. They have no alternative policy to propose, which does not fall to pieces as soon as it is stated. A large and important part of their membership, North and South, is heartily in favor of expansion, because they are Americans, and have not only patriotism, but an intelligent perception of their own interests. They are the traditional party of expansion, the party which first went beyond seas and tried to annex Hawaii, which plotted for years to annex Cuba, which have in our past acquisitions of territory their one great and enduring monument. In their new wanderings they have developed a highly commendable, if somewhat hysterical, tenderness for the rights of men with dark skins dwelling in the islands of the Pacific, in pleasing contrast to the harsh indifference which they have always manifested toward those American citizens who "wear the shadowed livery of the burnished sun" within the boundaries of the United States. The Democratic party has for years been the advocate of free trade and increased exports, but now they shudder at our

gaining control of the Pacific and developing our commerce with the East. Ready in their opposition to protection, to open our markets to the free competition of all the tropical, all the cheapest labor of the world, they are now filled with horror at the thought of admitting to our markets that small fragment of the world's cheap labor contained in the Philippine Islands, something which neither Republicans nor any one else think for one moment of doing. Heedless of their past and of their best traditions, careless of their inconsistencies, utterly regardless of the obvious commercial interests of the South, which they control; totally indifferent to the wishes and beliefs of a large portion of their membership, and to the advice and example of some of their most patriotic, most loyal, and most courageous leaders, to whom all honor is due, the managers of the Democratic organization have decided to oppose the retention of the Philippines and our policy of trade expansion in the East, for which those islands supply the corner stone. Their reason appears to be the highly sagacious one that it is always wise to oppose whatever Republicans advocate, without regard to the merits of the policy or to the circumstances which gave it birth. I will make no comment upon this theory of political action, except to say that it has seemed for a long time exceedingly congenial to the intelligence of the Democratic party, and that it may perhaps account for the fact that since 1860, they have only held for eight years a brief and ineffective power. As an American I regret that our opponents should insist on making a party question of this new and far-reaching problem, so fraught with great promise of good, both to ourselves and to others. As a party man, and as a Republican I can only rejoice. Once more our opponents insist that we shall be the only political party devoted to American policies. As the standard of expansion once so strongly held by their great predecessors drops from their nerveless hands we take it up, and invite the American people to march with it. We offer our policy to the American people, to Democrats and to Republicans, as an American policy, alike in duty and honor, in morals and in interest, as one not of skepticism and doubt, but of hope and faith in ourselves and in the future, as becomes a great young nation, which has not yet learned to use the art of retreat or to speak with the accents of despair. In 1804 the party which opposed expansion went down in utter wreck before the man who, interpreting aright the instincts, the hopes, and the spirit of the American people, made the Louisiana purchase. We make the same appeal in behalf of our American policies. We have made the appeal before, and won, as we deserved to win. We shall not fail now.

Before explaining our policy I shall be glad, as a preliminary, to state the policy proposed by our opponents, so that I could contrast our own with it, but

HENRY CABOT LODGE.

I have thus far been unable to discover what their policy is. No doubt it exists, no doubt it is beautiful, but, like many beautiful things, it seems to the average searcher after truth both diaphanous and elusive. We have had presented to us, it is true, the policy desired by Aguinaldo and his followers, that we should acknowledge him as a government, enforce his rule upon the other eighty-three tribes, and upon all the other islands, and then protect him from foreign interference. This plan, which would involve us in endless wars with the natives and keep us embroiled with other nations, loads us with responsibility without power and falls into ruin and absurdity the moment it is stated. Another proposition is that we should treat the Philippines as we treat Cuba. That is precisely what we are doing. But what is really meant by this demand is not that we should treat the Philippines as we treat Cuba, but that we should make to them a promise as to the future. And that is what every proposition made by those opposed to the Republican party comes down to, a promise as to the future. We are to put down insurrection and disorder, and hold the islands temporarily without the consent of the governed, but simultaneously we are to make large promises as to the future which will look well in print, and keep insurrection and disorder alive.

The resolutions offered by Senators on the other side, and the tenor of their speeches are of all this description. They present no policy, but invite us to make promises. Promises are neither action nor policy, and, in the form of legislation, are a grave mistake. Those which involve us in pledges of independence have the additional disadvantage of being the one sure means of keeping alive war and disorder in the islands. Those who offer them or urge them proceed on the assumption that you can deal with an Asiatic in the same manner and expect from him the same results as from a European or an American. This shows, it seems to me, a fatal misconception. The Asiatic mind and habit of thought are utterly different from ours. Words or acts which to us would show generosity and kindness, and would bring peace and order, to an Asiatic mean simply weakness and timidity and are to him an incentive to riot, resistance, and bloodshed. Promises of this kind, therefore, are neither effective action nor intelligent policy, but the sure breeders of war. If we must abandon the Philippines, let us abandon them frankly. If we mean to turn them over to domestic anarchy or foreign control, let us do it squarely. If we are to retain them, let us deal manfully with the problems as they arise. But do not indulge in the unspeakable cruelty of making promises, which our successors may be unable or unwilling to fulfill, and which will serve merely to light the flames of war once more, and bring death to hundreds of natives and to scores of American soldiers. Let us not attempt in such a situation, and with such responsibili-

ties to mortgage an unknown future and give bonds to fate which will be redeemed in blood.

The policy we offer, on the other hand, is simple and straightforward. We believe in the frank acceptance of existing facts, and in dealing with them as they are and not on a theory of what they might or ought to be. We accept the fact that the Philippine Islands are ours to-day, and that we are responsible for them before the world. The next fact is that there is a war in those islands, which, with its chief in hiding, and no semblance of a government, has now degenerated into mere guerilla fighting and brigandage, with a precarious existence predicated on the November elections. Our immediate duty, therefore, is to suppress this disorder, put an end to fighting, and restore peace and order. That is what we are doing. That is all we are called upon to do in order to meet the demands of the living present. Beyond this we ought not to go by a legislative act, except to make such provision that there may be no delay in re-establishing civil government when the war ends. The question of our constitutional right and power to govern those islands in any way we please I shall not discuss. Not only is it still in the future, but if authority is lacking, the Constitution gives full right and authority to hold and govern the Philippines without making them either economically or politically part of our system, neither of which they should ever be. When our great Chief Justice, John Marshall — "*magnum et venerabile nomen*" — declared in the Cherokee case that the United States could have under its control, exercised by treaty or the laws of Congress, a "domestic and dependent nation," I think he solved the question of our constitutional relations to the Philippines. Further than the acts and the policy, which I have just stated, I can only give my own opinion and belief as to the future, and as to the course to be pursued in the Philippines. I hope and believe that we shall retain the islands, and that, peace and order once restored, we shall and should re-establish civil government, beginning with the towns and villages, where the inhabitants are able to manage their own affairs. We should give them honest administration, and prompt and efficient courts. We should see to it there is entire protection to persons and property, in order to encourage the development of the islands by the assurance of safety to investors of capital. All men should be protected in the free exercise of their religion, and the doors thrown open to missionaries of all Christian sects. The land, which belongs to the people, and of which they have been robbed in the past, should be returned to them and their titles made secure. We should inaugurate and carry forward, in the most earnest and liberal way, a comprehensive system of popular education. Finally, while we bring prosperity to the islands by developing their resources, we should, as rapidly as conditions will

permit, bestow upon them self-government and home rule. Such, in outline, is the policy which I believe can be and will be pursued toward the Philippines. It will require time, patience, honesty, and ability for its completion, but it is thoroughly practicable and reasonable.

The foundation of it all is the retention of the islands by the United States, and it is to that question that I desire to address myself. I shall not argue our title to the islands by the law of nations, for it is perfect. No other nation has ever questioned it. It is too plain a proposition to warrant the waste of time and words upon it. Equally plain is our right under the Constitution, by a treaty which is the supreme law of the land, to hold those islands. I will not argue this point nor the entire legality of all that the President has done in accordance with his constitutional power and with the law passed by Congress at the last session which recognized the necessity of an increased army in order to cope with the existing insurrection. The opposition rests its weight on grounds widely different from these. They assert that on moral grounds we have no right to take or retain the Philippines, and that as a matter of expediency our whole Eastern policy was a costly mistake. I traverse both assertions. I deny both propositions. I believe we are in the Philippines as righteously as we are there rightfully and legally. I believe that to abandon the islands, or to leave them now, would be a wrong to humanity, a dereliction of duty, a base betrayal of the Filipinos who have supported us, led by the best men of Luzon, and in the highest degree contrary to sound morals. As to expediency, the arguments in favor of the retention of the Philippines seem to me so overwhelming that I should regard their loss as a calamity to our trade and commerce, and to all our business interests so great that no man can measure it.

(Being part of a speech delivered in the House of Representatives, March 7, 1900.)

The Stainless Shield.

By JAMES A. GARFIELD, of Ohio.
(Born 1831, died 1881.)

MR. CHAIRMAN: I have witnessed the extraordinary scenes of this convention with deep solicitude. No emotion touches my heart more quickly than a sentiment in honor of a great and noble character. But, as I sat on these seats and witnessed these demonstrations, it seemed to me you were a human ocean in a tempest. I have seen the sea lashed into a fury and tossed into a spray, and its grandeur moves the soul of the dullest man. But I remember that it is not the billows, but the calm level of the sea from which all heights and depths are measured. When the storm has passed, and the hour of calm settles on the ocean, when sunlight bathes its smooth service, then the astronomer and surveyor takes the level from which he measures all terrestrial heights and depths. Gentlemen of the convention, your present temper may not mark the healthful pulse of our people. When our enthusiasm has passed, when the emotions of this hour have subsided, we shall find the calm level of public opinion below the storm from which the thoughts of a mighty people are to be measured, and by which their final action will be determined. Not here in this brilliant circle, where fifteen thousand men and women are assembled, is the destiny of the Republic to be decreed; not here, where I see the enthusiastic faces of seven hundred and fifty-six delegates, waiting to cast their votes into the urn and determine the choice of their party; but by four million Republican firesides, where the thoughtful fathers, with wives and children about them, with calm thoughts inspired by love of home and love of country, with the history of the past, the hopes of the future, and the knowledge of the great men who have adorned and blessed our nation in days gone by,— there God prepares the verdict that shall determine the wisdom of our work to-night. Not in Chicago, in the heat of June, but in the sober quiet that comes between now and November, in the silence of deliberate judgment, will this great question be settled. Let us aid them to-night. But now, gentlemen of the convention, What do we want? (A voice, "Garfield.") Bear with me a moment. Hear me for this cause, and for a moment be silent that you may hear. Twen-

ty-five years ago this Republic was wearing a triple chain of bondage. Long familiarity with the traffic in the body and souls of men had paralyzed the consciences of a majority of our people. The baleful doctrine of State sovereignty had shocked and weakened the noblest and most beneficent forms of the National Government, and the grasping power of slavery was seizing the virgin territories of the West, and dragging them into the den of eternal bondage. At that crisis the Republican party was born. It drew its first inspiration from the fire of liberty which God has planted in every man's heart, and which all the powers of ignorance and tyranny can never wholly extinguish. The Republican party came to deliver and save the Republic. It entered the arena when beleaguered and assailed territories were struggling for freedom, and drew around them the sacred circle of liberty, which the demon of slavery has never dared to cross. It made them free forever.

Strengthened by its victory on the frontier, that young party, under the leadership of that great man, who on this spot twenty years ago was made its leader, entered the national Capitol and assumed the high duties of the Government. The light which shone from its banner dispelled the darkness in which slavery had enshrouded the Capitol, and melted the shackles of every slave, and consumed in the fire of liberty every slave pen within the shadow of the Capitol. Our national industries, by an impoverishing policy, were themselves prostrated, and the streams of revenue flowed in such feeble currents that the treasury itself was well-nigh empty. The money of the people was the wretched notes of two thousand uncontrolled and irresponsible State bank corporations, which were filling the country with a circulation that poisoned, rather than sustained the life of business.

The Republican party changed all this. It abolished the babel of confusion, and gave the country a currency as national as its flag, based upon the sacred faith of the people. It threw its protecting arm around our great industries, and they stood erect as with new life. It filled with the spirit of true nationality all the great functions of the Government. It confronted a rebellion of unexampled magnitude, with a slavery behind it, and, under God, fought the final battle of liberty until victory was won. Then, after the storms of battle, were heard the sweet, calm words of peace uttered by the conquering nation, and saying to the conquered foe that lay prostrate at its feet, "This is our only revenge, that you join us in lifting to the serene firmament of the Constitution, to shine like stars forever and ever, the immortal principles of truth and justice, that all men, white or black, shall be free and stand equal before the law." Then came the questions of reconstruction, the public debt, and the public faith. In the settlement of these questions the Republican party

has completed its twenty-five years of glorious existence, and it has sent us here to prepare it for another lustrum of duty and of victory. How shall we do this great work? We cannot do it, my friends, by assailing our Republican brethren. God forbid that I should say one word to cast a shadow upon any name on the roll of our heroes. This coming fight is our Thermopylæ. We are standing upon a narrow isthmus. If our Spartan hosts are united, we can stand all the Persians that the Xerxes of Democracy can bring against us. Let us hold our ground for this one year, for the stars in their courses fight for us in the future. The census to be taken this year will bring reinforcements and continued power. But, in order to win the victory now, we want the vote of every Republican, of every Grant Republican in America, of every Blaine man and every anti-Blaine man. The vote of every follower of every candidate is needed, is needed to make our success certain; therefore, I say, gentlemen and brethren, we are here to take calm counsel together, and inquire what we shall do. (A voice, "Nominate Garfield." Great applause.)

We want a man whose life and opinions embody all the achievements of which I have spoken. We want a man who, standing on a mountain height, sees all the achievements of our past history, and carries in his heart the memory of all its glorious deeds, and who, looking forward, prepares to meet the labor and the dangers to come. We want one who will act in no spirit of unkindness toward those we lately met in battle. The Republican party offers to our brethren of the South the olive branch of peace, and wishes them to return to brotherhood, on this supreme condition, that it shall be admitted, forever and forever, that, in the war for the Union, we were right and they were wrong. On that supreme condition, we meet them as brethren, and on no other. We ask them to share with us the blessings and honors of this great Republic.

Now, gentlemen, not to weary you, I am about to present a name for your consideration — the name of a man who was the comrade and associate and friend of nearly all those noble dead, whose faces look down upon us from these walls to-night; a man who began his career of public service twenty-five years ago, whose first duty was courageously done in the days of peril on the plains of Kansas, when the first red drops of that bloody shower began to fall, which finally swelled into the deluge of war. He bravely stood by young Kansas then, and, returning to his duty in the National Legislature, through all subsequent time, his pathway has been marked by labors performed in every department of legislation. You ask for his monuments. I point you to twenty-five years of national statutes. Not one great beneficent statute has been placed in our statute-books without his intelligent and powerful aid. He

aided these men to formulate the laws that raised our great armies, and carried us through the war. His hand was seen in the workmanship of those statutes that restored and brought back the unity and married calm of the States. His hand was in all that great legislation that created the war currency, and in a still greater work, that redeemed the promises of the Government, and made the currency equal to gold. And, when at last called from the halls of legislation into a high executive office, he displayed that experience, firmness, and poise of character which has carried us through a stormy period of three years. With one-half the public press crying "crucify him," and a hostile Congress seeking to prevent success, in all this he remained unmoved until victory crowned him. The great fiscal affairs of the nation, and the great business interests of the country, he has guarded and preserved, while executing the law of resumption, and effecting its object without a jar, and against the false prophecies of one-half of the press and all the Democracy of this continent. He has shown himself able to meet with calmness the great emergencies of the Government for twenty-five years. He has trodden the perilous heights of public duty, and against all the shafts of malice has borne his breast unharmed. He has stood in the blaze of "that fierce light that beats against the throne," but its fiercest ray has found no flaw in his armor, no blot on his shield. I do not present him as a better Republican, or as a better man than thousands of others we honor, but I present him for your deliberate consideration. I nominate John Sherman, of Ohio.

(Delivered in the Republican Convention at Chicago, in June, 1880, nominating John Sherman.)

The Apple Tree Speech.

By ROSCOE CONKLING, of New York.

(Born 1829, died 1888.)

"When asked what State he hails from,
Our sole reply shall be,
He comes from Appomattox,
And its famous apple tree."

IN obedience to instructions I should never dare to disregard — expressing, also, my own firm convictions — I rise to propose a nomination with which the country and the Republican party can gladly win. The election before us is to be the Austerlitz of American politics. It will decide, for many years, whether the country shall be Republican or Cossack. The supreme need of the hour is not a candidate who can carry Michigan. All Republican candidates can do that. The need is not of a candidate who is popular in the Territories, because they have no vote. The need is of a candidate who can carry doubtful States. Not the doubtful States of the North alone, but doubtful States of the South, which we have heard, if I understand it aright, ought to take little or no part here, because the South has nothing to give, but everything to receive. No, gentlemen, the need that presses upon the conscience of this convention is a candidate who can carry doubtful States both North and South. And believing that he, more surely than any other man, can carry New York against any opponent, and can carry not only the North, but several States of the South, New York is for Ulysses S. Grant. Never defeated in peace or in war, his name is the most illustrious borne by living man.

His services attest his greatness, and the country — nay, the world — knows them by heart. His fame was earned not alone in things written and said, but by the arduous greatness of things done. And perils and emergencies will search in vain in the future, as they have searched in vain in the past, for any other on whom the nation leans with such confidence and trust. Never having had a policy to enforce against the will of the people, he never betrayed a cause or a friend, and the people will never desert or betray him. Standing on the

highest eminence of human distinction, modest, firm, simple, and self-poised, having filled all lands with his renown, he has seen not only the high-born and the titles, but the poor and the lowly in the uttermost ends of the earth, rise and uncover before him. He has studied the needs and the defects of many systems of government, and he has returned a better American than ever, with a wealth of knowledge and experience added to the hard common sense which shone so conspicuously in all the fierce light that beat upon him during sixteen years, the most trying, the most portentous, the most perilous in the nation's history.

Vilified and reviled, ruthlessly aspersed by unnumbered presses, not in other lands, but in his own, assaults upon him have seasoned and strengthened his hold on the public heart. Calumny's ammunition has all been exploded; the powder has all been burned once; its force is spent; and the name of Grant will glitter a bright and imperishable star in the diadem of the Republic when those who have tried to tarnish that name have moldered in forgotten graves, and when their memories and their epitaphs have vanished utterly.

Never elated by success, never depressed by adversity, he has ever, in peace as in war, shown the genius of common sense. The terms he prescribed for Lee's surrender foreshadowed the wisest prophecies and principles of true reconstruction. Victor in the greatest war of modern times, he quickly signalized his aversion to war and his love of peace by an arbitration of internal disputes, which stands as the wisest, the most majestic example of its kind in the world's diplomacy. When inflation, at the height of its popularity and frenzy, had swept both Houses of Congress, it was the veto of Grant, which, single and alone, overthrew expansion and cleared the way for specie resumption. To him, immeasurably more than to any other man, is due the fact that every paper dollar is at last as good as gold.

With him as our leader we shall have no defensive campaign. No! We shall have nothing to explain away. We shall have no apologies to make. The shafts and the arrows have all been aimed at him, and they lie broken and harmless at his feet.

Life, liberty, and property will find a safeguard in him. When he said of the colored men in Florida, "Wherever I am, they may come also" — when he so said, he meant that, had he the power, the poor dwellers in the cabins of the South should no longer be driven in terror from the homes of their childhood and the graves of their murdered dead. When he refused to see Dennis Kearney in California, he meant that communism, lawlessness, and disorder, although it might stalk high-headed and dictate law to a whole city, would always find a foe

in him. He meant that, popular or unpopular, he would hew to the line of right, let the chips fly where they may.

His integrity, his common sense, his courage, his unequaled experience, are the qualities offered to his country. The only argument, the only one that the wit of man or the stress of politics has devised is one which would dumfounder Solomon, because he thought there was nothing new under the sun. Having tried Grant twice and found him faithful, we are told that we must not, even after an interval of years, trust him again. My countrymen! my countrymen! what stultification does not such a fallacy involve! The American people exclude Jefferson Davis from public trust. Why? why? Because he was the arch-traitor and would-be destroyer; and now the same people are asked to ostracize Grant, and not to trust him. Why? why? I repeat; because he was the arch-preserver of his country, and because, not only in war, but twice as Civil Magistrate, he gave his highest, noblest efforts to the Republic. Is this an electioneering juggle, or is it hypocrisy's masquerade? There is no field of human activity, responsibility, or reason in which rational beings object to an agent because he has been weighed in the balance and not found wanting. There is, I say, no department of human reason in which sane men reject an agent because he has had experience, making him exceptionally competent and fit. From the man who shoes your horse, to the lawyer who tries your case, the officer who manages your railway or your mill, the doctor into whose hands you give your life, or the minister who seeks to save your soul, what man do you reject because by his works you have known him and found him faithful and fit? What makes the presidential office an exception to all things else in the common sense to be applied to selecting its incumbent? Who dares — who dares to put fetters on that free choice and judgment which is the birthright of the American people? Can it be said that Grant has used official power and place to perpetuate his term? He has no place, and official power has not been used for him. Without patronage and without emissaries, without committees, without bureaus, without telegraph wires running from his house to this convention, or running from his house anywhere else, this man is the candidate whose friends have never threatened to bolt unless this convention did as they said. He is a Republican who never wavers. He and his friends stand by the creed and the candidates of the Republican party. They hold the rightful rule of the majority as the very essence of their faith, and they mean to uphold that faith against not only the common enemy, but against the charlatans, jayhawkers, tramps and guerillas — the men who deploy between the lines, and forage now on one side and then on the other. This convention is master of a supreme opportunity. It can name the next President. It can make sure of his election. It can make

sure not only of his election, but of his certain and peaceful inauguration. More than all, it can break that power which dominates and mildews the South. It can overthrow an organization whose very existence is a standing protest against progress.

The purpose of the Democratic party is spoils. Its very hope of existence is a solid South. Its success is a menace to order and prosperity. I say this convention can overthrow that power. It can dissolve and emancipate a solid South. It can speed the nation in a career of grandeur eclipsing all past achievements.

Gentlemen, we have only to listen above the din and look beyond the dust of an hour to behold the Republican party advancing with its ensigns resplendent with illustrious achievements, marching to certain and lasting victory with its greatest marshal at its head.

(Delivered in the Convention of the Republican party at Chicago, June 6, 1880.)

The American Indians.

By JOSEPH STORY, of Massachusetts.
(Born 1779, died 1845.)

THERE is, indeed, in the fate of these unfortunate beings, much to awaken our sympathy, and much to disturb the sobriety of our judgment; much which may be urged to excuse their own atrocities; much in their characters, which betrays us into an involuntary admiration. What can be more melancholy than their history? By a law of their nature, they seem destined to a slow, but sure extinction. Everywhere, at the approach of the white man, they fade away. We hear the rustling of their footsteps, like that of the withered leaves of autumn, and they are gone forever. They pass mournfully by us, and they return no more. Two centuries ago, the smoke of their wigwams and the fires of their councils rose in every valley, from Hudson's Bay to the farthest Florida, from the ocean to the Mississippi and the lakes. The shouts of victory and the war-dance rang through the mountains and the glades. The thick arrows and the deadly tomahawk whistled through the forests; and the hunter's trace and the dark encampment startled the wild beasts in their lairs. The warriors stood forth in their glory. The young listened to the songs of other days. The mothers played with their infants, and gazed on the scene with warm hopes of the future. The aged sat down; but they wept not. They should soon be at rest in fairer regions, where the Great Spirit dwelt, in a home prepared for the brave, beyond the western skies. Braver men never lived; truer men never drew the bow. They had courage, and fortitude, and sagacity, and perseverance, beyond most of the human race. They shrank from no dangers, and they feared no hardships. If they had the vices of savage life, they had the virtues also. They were true to their country, their friends, and their homes. If they forgave not injury, neither did they forget kindness. If their vengeance was terrible, their fidelity and generosity were unconquerable also. Their love, like their hate, stopped not on this side of the grave.

But where are they? Where are the villages, and warriors, and youth: the sachems and the tribes; the hunters and their families? They have perished.

They are consumed. The wasting pestilence has not alone done the mighty work. No — nor famine, nor war. There has been a mightier power, a moral canker, which hath eaten into their heart-cores — a plague, which the touch of the white man communicated — a poison which betrayed them into a lingering ruin. The winds of the Atlantic fan not a single region which they may now call their own. Already the last feeble remnants of the race are preparing for their journey beyond the Mississippi. I see them leave their miserable homes, the aged, the helpless, the women, and the warriors, "few and faint, yet fearless still." The ashes are cold on their native hearths. The smoke no longer curls round their lowly cabins. They move on with a slow, unsteady step. The white man is upon their heels, for terror or despatch; but they heed him not. They turn to take a last look of their deserted villages. They cast a last glance upon the graves of their fathers. They shed no tears; they utter no cries; they heave no groans. There is something in their hearts which passes speech. There is something in their looks, not of vengeance or submission, but of hard necessity, which stifles both; which chokes all utterance; which has no aim or method. It is courage absorbed in despair. They linger but for a moment. Their look is onward. They have passed the fatal stream. It shall never be repassed by them — no, never. Yet there lies not between us and them an impassable gulf. They know and feel that there is for them still one remove farther, not distant nor unseen. It is to the general burial-ground of their race.

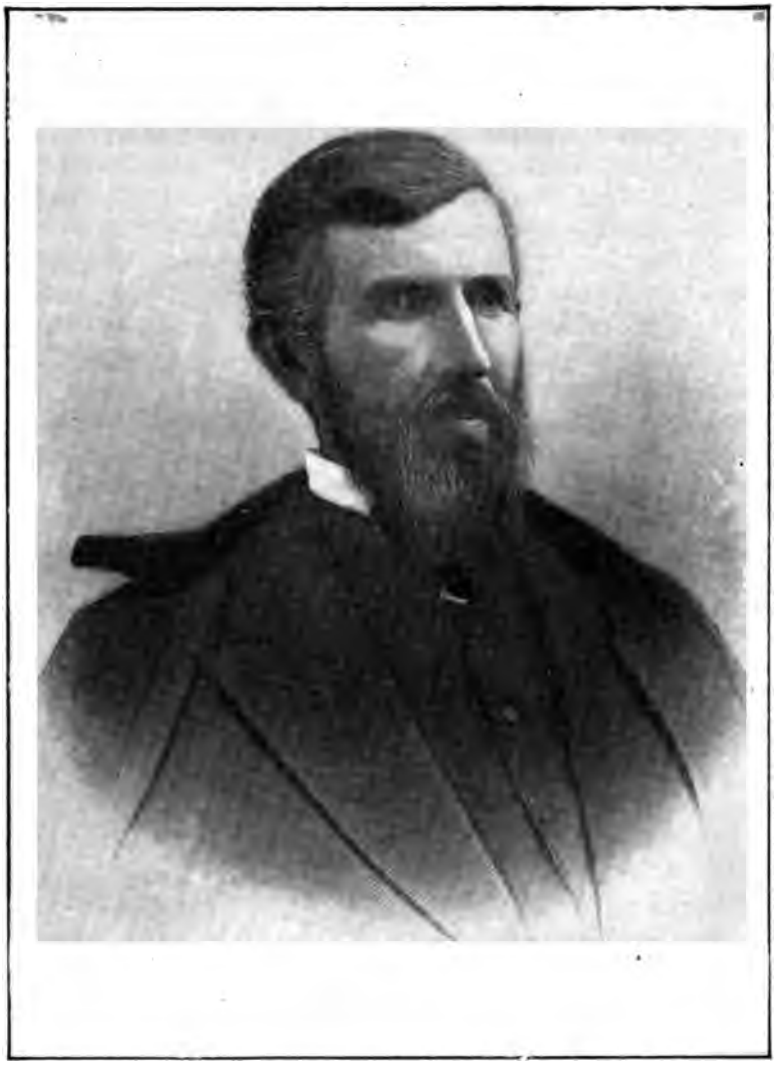
(From a speech before the Essex Historical Society in commemoration of the First Settlement of Salem.)

The Henry of Navarre Speech.

By JUDGE WEST, the Blind Orator of Ohio.

AS a delegate in the Chicago Convention of 1860, the proudest service of my life was performed by voting for the nomination of that inspired emancipator, the first Republican President of the United States. Four-and-twenty years of the grandest history in recorded times have distinguished the ascendency of the Republican party. The skies have lowered and reverses have threatened, but our flag is still there, waving above the mansion of the Presidency, not a stain on its folds, not a cloud on its glory. Whether it shall maintain that grand ascendency depends upon the action of this great council. With bated breath a nation awaits the result. On it are fixed the eyes of twenty millions of Republican freemen in the North. On it, or to it, rather, are stretched forth the imploring hands of ten millions of political bondmen of the South, while above, from the portals of light, is looking down the spirit of the immortal martyr who first bore it to victory, bidding to us hail and God speed. Six times, in six campaigns, has that symbol of union, freedom, humanity, and progress been borne in triumph; sometime by that silent man of destiny, the Wellington of American arms, Ulysses the Great; last by that soldier-statesman at whose untimely taking off a nation swelled the funeral cries and wept above great Garfield's grave.

Shall that banner triumph again? Commit it to the bearing of that chief (A voice, "James G. Blaine, of Maine." Cheers), commit it to the bearing of that chief, the inspiration of whose illustrious character and great name will fire the hearts of our young men, stir the blood of our manhood, and rekindle the fervor of the veterans, and the closing of the seventh campaign will see that holy ensign spanning the sky like a bow of promise. Political conditions are changed since the accession of the Republican party to power. The mighty issues of the freed and bleeding humanity which convulsed the continent and rocked the Republic, rallied, united, and inspired the forces of patriotism and philanthropy in one consolidated phalanx — these great issues have ceased their contentions. The subordinate issues resulting therefrom are settled and



JUDGE W. H. WEST.

buried away with the dead issues of the past. The arms of the solid South are against us. Not an Electoral gun can be expected from that section. If triumph comes, the Republican States of the North must furnish the conquering battalions. From the farm, the anvil, the loom, from the mines, the workshop, and the desk, from the hut of the trapper on the snowy Sierras, from the hut of the fisherman on the banks of the Hudson, must these forces be drawn.

Does not sound political wisdom dictate and demand that a leader shall be given to them whom our people will follow, not as conscripts advancing by funeral marches to certain defeat, but a grand civic hero, whom the souls of the people desire, and whom they will follow with all the enthusiasm of volunteers as they sweep on and onward to certain victory — a representative of American manhood — a representative of that living Republicanism that demands the amplest industrial protection and opportunity whereby labor shall be enabled to earn and eat the bread of independent employment, relieved of mendicant competition with pauper Europe or pagan China?

In the contention of forces for political dominion, to whom as a candidate shall be intrusted the bearing of our battle flag? Citizens, I am not here to do it, and may my tongue cleave to the roof of my mouth if I do abate one tithe from the just fame, integrity, and public honor of Chester A. Arthur, our President. I abate not one tithe from the just fame and public integrity of George F. Edmunds, of Joseph R. Hawley, of John Sherman, of that grand, old, black eagle of Illinois (here the speaker was interrupted several moments by prolonged applause), and I am proud to know that these distinguished Senators whom I have named have borne like testimony to the public life, the public character, and the public integrity of him whose confirmation by their votes elevated him to the highest office — second in dignity only to the office of the President himself — the first premiership in the Administration of James A. Garfield. A man who was good enough for these great senatorial rivals to confirm in the high office of the first premiership of the Republic is good enough for the support of a plain, flesh-and-blood God's people for President. Who shall be our candidate? (Cries of "Blaine," "Arthur," and "Logan." A loud voice above the tumult: "Give us Black Jack and we will elect him.") Not the representative of a particular interest or a particular class. Send the great apostle to the country labeled the doctors' candidate, the lawyers' candidate, the Wall street candidate, and the hand of resurrection would not fathom his November grave.

Gentlemen, he must be a representative of that Republicanism that demands the absolute political as well as personal emancipation and disenthralment of mankind — a representative of that Republicanism which recog-

nizes the stamp of American citizenship as the passport of every right, privilege, and consideration at home or abroad, whether under the sky of Bismarck, under the palmetto, under the pelican, or on the banks of the Mohawk — that Republicanism that regards with dissatisfaction a despotism which under the *sic semper tyrannis* of the Old Dominion annihilates by slaughter popular majorities in the name of Democracy — a Republicanism which, while avoiding entangling alliances with foreign powers, will accept insult and humiliation from no Prince, State, Potentate or Sovereignty on earth — a Republicanism as embodied and stated in the platform of principles this day adopted by your convention, gentlemen, such a representative Republican, enthroned in the hearts and affections of the people, is James G. Blaine, of Maine. His campaign would commence to-morrow, and continue until victory is assured. There would be no powder burned to fire into the back of leaders. It would only be exploded to illuminate the inauguration. The brazen throats of cannon in yonder square, waiting to herald the result of this convention, would not have time to cool before his name would be caught up on ten thousand tongues of electric flame. It would sweep down from the Old Pine Tree State. It would go over the hills and valleys of New England. It would insure you Connecticut by ten thousand majority. It would weld together with fervent heat the dissensions in New York. It would blaze through the State of Garfield, that daughter of Connecticut, more beautiful than her mother.

Gentlemen of the Convention, it has been said that in making this nomination every other consideration should merge, every other interest be sacrificed, in order and with a view exclusively to secure the Republican vote and carry the State of New York. Gentlemen, the Republican party demands of this Convention a nominee whose inspiration and glorious prestige shall carry the Presidency with or without the State of New York; that will carry the Legislatures of the several States and avert the sacrifice of the United States Senate; that shall sweep into the tide sufficient congressional districts to redeem the House of Representatives and restore it to the Republican party.

Gentlemen, three millions of Republicans believe that the man to accomplish this is the Ajax Telamon of our party, who made — and whose life is — a conspicuous part of its glorious history. Through all the conflicts of its progress, from the baptism of blood on the plains of Kansas to the fall of the immortal Garfield, whenever humanity needed succor, or freedom needed protection, or country a champion, wherever blows fell thickest and fastest, there, in the fore front of the battle, was seen to wave the white plume of James G. Blaine, our Henry of Navarre. Nominate him, and the shouts of September victory in Maine will be re-echoed back by the thunders of the October victory

no more distract, and where the conditions are most favorable for noble and enduring achievement. His upward path had been through stormy adversity in Ohio. Nominate him, and the campfires and beacon-lights will illuminate the continent from the Golden Gate to Cleopatra's Needle. Nominate him, and the millions who are now in waiting will rally to swell the column of victory that is sweeping on. In the name of a majority of the delegates from the Republican States, and their glorious constituencies who must fight this battle, I nominate James G. Blaine, of Maine.

(Delivered at the Republican Convention at Chicago, June 5, 1884, in nomination of James G. Blaine.)

Death of Ben. Hill.

By JOHN J. INGALLS, of Kansas.
(Born 1833, died 1900.)

MR. PRESIDENT: Ben. Hill has gone to the undiscovered country. Whether his journey thither was but one step across an imperceptible frontier, or whether an interminable ocean, black, unfluctuating, and voiceless, stretches between these earthly coasts and those invisible shores — we do not know.

Whether on that August morning after death, he saw a more glorious sun rise with unimaginable splendor above a celestial horizon, or whether his apathetic and unconscious ashes still sleep in cold obstruction and insensible oblivion — we do not know.

Whether his strong and subtle energies found instant exercise in another forum, whether his dexterous and undisciplined faculties are now contending in a higher senate than ours for supremacy, or whether his powers were dissipated and dispersed with his parting breath — we do not know.

Whether his passions, ambitions, and affections still sway, attract, and impel, whether he yet remembers us as we remember him — we do not know.

These are the unsolved, the insolvable problems of mortal life and human destiny, which prompted the troubled patriarch to ask that momentous question, for which the centuries have given no answer: "If a man die, shall he live again?"

Every man is the center of a circle, whose fatal circumference he cannot pass. Within its narrow confines he is potential, beyond it, he perishes; and if immortality is a splendid, but delusive dream, if the incompleteness of every career, even the longest and most fortunate, be not supplemented and perfected after its termination here, then he who dreads to die should fear to live, for life is a tragedy more desolate and inexplicable than death.

Of all the dead whose obsequies we have paused to solemnize in this Chamber, I recall no one whose untimely fate seems so lamentable, and yet so rich in prophecy as that of Senator Hill. He had reached the meridian of his years. He stood upon the high plateau of middle life, in that serene atmosphere where temptation no longer assails, where the clamorous passions

JOHN J. INGALLS.

and contention, such as infrequently fall to the lot of men. Though not without the tendency to meditation, revery, and introspection which accompanies genius, his temperament was palestric. He was competitive and unpeaceful. He was born a polemic and controversialist, intellectually pugnacious and combative, so that he was impelled to defend any position that might be assailed, or to attack any position that might be intrenched, not because the defense or assault was essential, but because the positions were maintained, and that those who held them became, by that fact alone, his adversaries. This tendency of his nature made his orbit erratic. He was meteoric, rather than planetary, and flashed with irregular splendor, rather than shone with steady and penetrating rays. His advocacy of any cause was fearless to the verge of temerity. He appeared to be indifferent to applause or censure, for their own sake. He accepted intrepidly any conclusion that he reached, without inquiring whether they were politic or expedient.

To such a spirit, partisanship was unavoidable, but with Senator Hill it did not degenerate into bigotry. He was capable of broad generosity, and extended to his opponents the same unreserved candor which he demanded for himself. His oratory was impetuous, and devoid of artifice. He was not a posturer or phrase-monger. He was too intense, too earnest, to employ the cheap and paltry decorations of discourse. He never reconnoitered a hostile position, nor approached it by stealthy parallels. He could not lay siege to an enemy, nor beleaguer him, nor open trenches, and sap and mine. His method was the charge and the onset. He was the Murat of senatorial debate. Not many men of this generation have been better equipped for parliamentary warfare, than he, with his commanding presence, his sinewy diction, his confidence, and imperturbable self-control.

But in the maturity of his powers and his fame, with unmeasured opportunities for achievement apparently before him, with great designs unaccomplished, surrounded by the proud and affectionate solicitude of a great constituency, the pallid messenger with the inverted torch beckoned him to depart. There are few scenes in history more tragic than that protracted combat with death. No man had greater inducements to live. But in the long struggle against the inexorable advances of an insidious and mortal malady, he did not falter nor repine. He retreated with the aspect of a victor, and though he succumbed, he seemed to conquer. His sun went down at noon, but it sank amid the prophetic splendors of an eternal dawn.

With more than a hero's courage, with more than a martyr's fortitude, he waited the approach of the inevitable hour, and went to the undiscovered country.

(Being a speech delivered in the United States Senate, January 23, 1882.)

Science and Literature.

By JAMES KENT, of New York.
(Born 1763, died 1847.)

THE tendency of some modern theories of education is to depress the study of ancient languages and literature, and to raise up in their stead a more exclusive devotion to the exact sciences and mechanical philosophy. But this would be to prefer the study of the laws of matter to the study of man as an intellectual, moral, and accountable being. And when we duly consider how unspeakably important, and how intensely interesting is the knowledge of our race, of their history, their governments, their laws, their duties, their languages, and their final destiny, we shall not be disposed to undervalue literary pursuits, or to think lightly of the cultivation of the moral sciences and the study of the rights and history of man as a member of civil society. Nothing contributes more to elevate and adorn the character of a nation than the refinements of taste, the embellishments of the arts, the spirit of freedom, the love of justice, and the study and imitation of those exalted endowments and illustrious actions, of which history furnishes the examples, and which "give ardor to virtue and confidence to truth."

But I wish not to be misunderstood. I entertain no narrow or hostile prejudice to a course of scientific education. Such a course is adapted to the wants and business of society, and this college has very wisely met on that subject the spirit of the times, and given a more extended and closer attention than formerly to the various branches of the mathematics and of the physical sciences. No one can contemplate, without astonishment and admiration, the splendid discoveries and improvements which have been made, ever since the beginning of the present century, in astronomy, electricity, chemistry, mineralogy, geology, and the mechanic arts, nor will he be destitute of a glow of gratitude for the skillful and triumphant application of those sciences to commercial, agricultural, manufacturing and domestic purposes. They have contributed in a wonderful degree to abridge labor, facilitate intercourse, accumulate products, enlarge commerce, multiply the comforts of life, and elevate the power and character of the nation. My only wish is that science and literature may flourish in concert, and the one

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is not to regard the other as a useless or dangerous rival. They are necessary helps to each other; and he who deals constantly in matters of fact, with strict method and patient induction, will find his whole moral constitution to stand greatly in need, from time to time, of the invigorating warmth and impulse of the creations of genius. The college was founded with the generous intention of teaching in due proportion literature and science, and this is all that we can wish or ought to contend for. If literature eloquently recommends and elegantly adorns science, the latter supplies that knowledge of the laws of the visible creation, and of those astonishing combinations by which it is directed, that imparts to literature its highest dignity. Science furnishes arguments and helps to ethics and to some parts of civil jurisprudence, and it supplies eloquence and poetry with much of that beautiful, affecting, and sublime imagery, which accompanies them in their most animated strains and loftiest effusions.

(Being part of an address before the Phi Beta Kappa Society in 1831.)

The Duty of Scholarship.

By WENDELL PHILLIPS, of Massachusetts.

(Born 1811, died 1884.)

FIFTY millions of men God gives us to mould; burning questions, keen debate, great interests trying to vindicate their right to be, sad wrongs brought to the bar of public judgment, — these are the people's schools. Timid scholarship either shrinks from sharing in these agitations, or denounces them as vulgar and dangerous interference by incompetent hands with matters above them. A chronic distrust of the people pervades the book-educated class of the North; they shrink from the free speech which is God's normal school for educating men, throwing upon them the grave responsibility of deciding great questions, and so lifting them to a higher level of intellectual and moral life. Trust the people — the wise and the ignorant, the good and the bad — with the gravest questions, and in the end you educate the race; while you secure, not perfect institutions, not necessarily good ones, but the best institutions possible while human nature is the basis and the only material to build with.

Men are educated and the State uplifted by allowing all — every one — to broach all their mistakes and advocate all their errors.

The community that will not protect its humblest, most ignorant, and most hated member in the free utterance of his opinions, no matter how false or hateful, is only a gang of slaves!

Anarcharsis went into the Archon's Court at Athens, heard a case argued by the great men of that city, and saw the vote by five hundred men. Walking in the streets, some one asked him, "What do you think of Athenian liberty?" "I think," said he, "wise men argue cases, and fools decide them." Just what that timid scholar, two thousand years ago, said in the streets of Athens, that which calls itself scholarship here says to-day of popular agitation, — that it lets wise men argue questions and fools decide them. But that Athens where fools decided the gravest questions of policy and of right and wrong, where property you had gathered wearily to-day might be wrung from you by the

caprice of the mob to-morrow, — that very Athens probably secured the greatest amount of human happiness and nobleness of its era; invented art, and sounded for us the depths of philosophy. God lent to it the largest intellects, and it flashes to-day the torch that gilds yet the mountain-peaks of the Old World: while Egypt, the hunker conservative of antiquity, where nobody dared to differ from the priest, or to be wiser than his grandfather; where men pretended to be alive, though swaddled in the grave-clothes of creed and custom as close as their mummies were in linen, — that Egypt is hid in the tomb it inhabited, and the intellect Athens has trained for us digs to-day those ashes to find out what buried and forgotten hunkerism knew and did.

* * *

Suppose that universal suffrage endangered peace and threatened property. There is something more valuable than wealth, there is something more sacred than peace. As Humboldt says, "The finest fruit earth holds up to its Maker is a man." To ripen, lift, and educate a man is the first duty. Trade, law, learning, science, and religion are only the scaffolding wherewith to build a man. Despotism looks down into the poor man's cradle, and knows it can crush resistance and curb ill will. Democracy sees the ballot in that baby hand; and selfishness bids her put integrity on one side of those baby footsteps and intelligence on the other, lest her own hearth be in peril. Thank God for his method of taking bonds of wealth and culture to share all their blessings with the humblest soul he gives to their keeping! The American should cherish as serene a faith as his fathers had. Instead of seeking a coward safety by battening down the hatches, and putting men back into chains, he should recognize that God places him in this peril that he may work out a noble security by concentrating all moral forces to lift this weak, rotting, and dangerous mass into sunlight and health. The fathers touched their highest level when, with stout-hearted and serene faith, they trusted God that it was safe to leave men with all the rights he gave them. Let us be worthy of their blood, and save this sheet-anchor of the race, — universal suffrage, — God's church, God's school, God's method of gently binding men into commonwealths, in order that they may at last melt into brothers.

(Being part of an address before the Phi Beta Kappa Society in 1881.)

Strength of Self-Government.

By HENRY WARD BEECHER, of New York.
(Born 1813, died 1887.)

IF you measure a man by the skill that he can exhibit, and the fruit of it, there is great distinction between one and another. Men are not each worth the same thing to society. All men cannot think with a like value, nor work with a like product. And if you measure man as a producing creature — that is, in his secular relations — men are not alike valuable. But when you measure men on their spiritual side, and in their affectional relations to God and the eternal world, the lowest man is so immeasurable in value that you cannot make any practical difference between one man and another. Although, doubtless, some are vastly above, the lowest and least goes beyond your powers of conceiving, and your power of measuring. This is the root idea, which, if not recognized, is yet operative. It is the fundamental principle of our American scheme, that is, Man is above nature. Man, by virtue of his original endowment and affiliation to the Eternal Father, is superior to every other created thing. There is nothing to be compared with man. All governments are from him and for him, and not over him and upon him. All institutions are not his masters, but his servants. All days, all ordinances, all usages, come to minister to the chief and the king,— God's son, man, of whom God only is master. Therefore, he is to be thoroughly enlarged, thoroughly empowered by development, and then thoroughly trusted. This is the American idea, — for we stand in contrast with the world in holding and teaching it; that men, having been once thoroughly educated, are to be absolutely trusted.

The education of the common people follows, then, as a necessity. They are to be fitted to govern. Since all things are from them and for them, they must be educated to their function, to their destiny. No pains are spared, we know, in Europe, to educate princes and nobles who are to govern. No expense is counted too great, in Europe, to prepare the governing classes for their function. America has her governing class, too; and that governing class is the whole people. It is a slower work, because it is so much larger. It is never carried so high, because there is so much more of it. It is easy to lift up a crowned class.

It is not easy to lift up society from the very foundation. That is the work of centuries. And, therefore, though we have not an education so deep nor so high as it is in some other places, we have it broader than it is anywhere else in the world; and we have learned that, for ordinary affairs, intelligence among the common people is better than treasures of knowledge among particular classes of the people. School books do more for the country than encyclopædias.

And so there comes up the American conception of a common people as an order of nobility, or as standing in the same place to us that orders of nobility stand to other peoples. Not that, after our educated men and men of genius are counted out, we call all that remain the common people. The whole community, top and bottom and intermediate, the strong and the weak, the rich and the poor, the leaders and the followers, constitute with us the commonwealth; in which laws spring from the people, administration conforms to their wishes, and they are made the final judges of every interest of the State.

In America, there is not one single element of civilization that is not made to depend, in the end, upon public opinion. Art, law, administration, policy, reformation of morals, religious teaching, all derive, in our form of society, the most potent influence from the common people. For although the common people are educated in preconceived notions of religion, the great intuitions and instincts of the heart of man rise up afterward, and in their turn influence back. So there is action and reaction.

It is this very thing that has led men that are educated, in Europe, to doubt the stability of our nation. Owing to a strange ignorance on their part, our glory has seemed to them our shame, and our strength has seemed to them our weakness, and our invincibility has seemed to them our disaster and defeat.

This impression of Europeans has been expressed in England in language that has surprised us, and that one day will surprise them. We know more of it in England because the English language is our mother tongue, and we are more concerned to know what England thinks of us than any other nation.

But it is impossible that nations educated into sympathy with strong governments, and with the side of those that govern, should sympathize with the governed. In this country the sympathy goes with the governed, and not with the governing, as much as in the other countries it goes with the governing, and not with the governed. And abroad, they are measuring by a false rule, and by a home-bred and one-sided sympathy.

It is impossible for men who have not seen it to understand that there is no society possible that will bear such expansion and contraction, such strains and burdens, as a society made up of free educated common people, with democratic

institutions. It has been supposed that such a society was the most unsafe, and the least capable of control, of any. But, whether tested by external pressure, or, as now, by the most wondrous internal evils, an educated democratic people is the strongest government that can be made on the face of the earth.

In no other form of society is it so safe to set discussion at large. Nowhere else is there such safety in the midst of apparent conflagration. Nowhere else is there such entire rule, when there seems to be such entire anarchy.

A foreigner would think, pending a presidential election, that the end of the world had come. The people roar and dash like an ocean. "No government," he would say, "was ever strong enough to hold such wild and tumultuous enthusiasm, and zeal, and rage." True. There is not a government strong enough to hold them. Nothing but self-government will do it: that will. Educate men to take care of themselves, individually and in masses, and then let the winds blow; then let the storms fall; then let excitements burn, and men will learn to move freely upon each other, as do drops of water in the ocean. Our experience from generation to generation has shown that, though we may have fantastic excitements; though the whole land may seem to have swung from its moorings on a sea of the wildest agitation, we have only to let the silent dropping paper go into the box, and that is the end of the commotion. To-day, the flames mount to heaven; and on every side you hear the most extravagant prophecies and the fiercest objurgations; and both sides know that, if they do not succeed, the end of the world will have come. But to-morrow the vote is declared, and each side go home laughing, to take hold of the plow and the spade; and they are satisfied that the nation is safe after all.

The Upright Judge.

By RUFUS CHOATE, of Massachusetts.
(Born 1799, died 1859.)

IN the first place, he should be profoundly learned in all the learning of the law, and he must know how to use that learning. Will anyone stand up here to deny this? In this day, boastful, glorious for its advancing, popular, professional, scientific, and all education, will anyone disgrace himself by doubting the necessity of deep and continued studies, and various and thorough attainments to the bench? He is to know not merely the law which you make, and the Legislature makes, not constitutional and statute law alone, but that other ampler, that boundless jurisprudence, the common law, which the successive generations of the State have silently built up; that old code of freedom which we brought with us in *The Mayflower* and *Arabella*, but which, in the progress of centuries, we have ameliorated and enriched, and adapted wisely to the necessities of a busy, prosperous, and wealthy community — that he must know.

And where to find it? In volumes which you must count by hundreds, by thousands; filling libraries; exacting long labors — the labors of a lifetime, abstracted from business, from politics; but assisted by taking part in an active judicial administration; such labors as produced the wisdom and won the fame of Parsons, and Marshall, and Kent, and Story, and Holt, and Mansfield. If your system of appointment and tenure does not present a motive, a help for such labors and such learning, if it discourages, if it disparages them, in so far it is a failure.

In the next place, he must be a man not merely upright; not merely honest and well-intentioned — this of course — but a man who will not respect persons in judgment. And does not everyone here agree to this also? Dismissing for a moment all theories about the mode of appointing him, or the time for which he shall hold office, sure I am we all demand that, as far as human virtue, assisted by the best contrivances of human wisdom, can attain to it, he shall not respect persons in judgment. He shall know nothing about the parties, every-

thing about the case. He shall do everything for justice, nothing for himself; nothing for his friend, nothing for his patrons, nothing for his sovereign.

If, on one side, is the executive power and the Legislature and the people — the sources of his honors, the givers of his daily bread — and on the other an individual, nameless and odious, his eye is to see neither great nor small, attending only to the trepidations of the balance. If a law is passed by a unanimous Legislature, clamored for by the general voice of the public, and a cause is before him on it, in which the whole community is on one side and an individual nameless or odious on the other, and he believes it to be against the Constitution, he must so declare it, or there is no judge. If Athens comes there to demand that the cup of hemlock be put to the lips of the wisest of men, and he believes that he has *not corrupted the youth, nor omitted to worship the gods of the city, nor introduced new divinities of his own*, he must deliver him, although the thunder light on the unterrified brow.

And, finally, he must possess the perfect confidence of the community, that he bear not the sword in vain. To be honest, to be no respecter of persons, is not yet enough. He must be believed such. I should be glad so far to indulge an old-fashioned and cherished professional sentiment as to say that I would have something venerable and illustrious attach to his character and function, in the judgment and feelings of the commonwealth.

But if this should be thought a little above or behind the time, I do not fear that I subject myself to the ridicule of anyone when I claim that he be a man toward whom the love and trust and affectionate admiration of the people should flow; not a man perching for a winter and summer in our courthouses and then gone forever; but one to whose benevolent face, and bland and dignified manners, and firm administration of the whole learning of the law, we become accustomed; whom our eyes anxiously, not in vain, explore when we enter the temple of justice; toward whom our attachment and trust grow ever with the growth of his own reputation: I would have him one who might look back from the venerable last years of Mansfield or Marshall and recall such testimonies as these to the great and good judge:

"The young men saw me and hid themselves, and the aged arose and stood up.

"The princes refrained from talking, and laid their hand upon their mouth.

"When the ear heard me, then it blessed me, and when the eye saw me, it gave witness to me.

"Because I delivered the poor that cried, and the fatherless, and him that had none to help him.

"The blessing of him that was ready to perish came upon me, and I caused the widow's heart to sing for joy.

"I put on righteousness, and it clothed me. My judgment was as a robe and a diadem. I was eyes to the blind, and feet was I to the lame.

"I was a father to the poor, and the cause which I knew not I searched out.

"And I brake the jaws of the wicked, and I plucked the spoil out of his teeth."

Give to the community such a judge, and I care little who makes the rest of the Constitution, or what party administers it. It will be a free government I know. Let us repose secure under the shade of a learned, impartial, and trusted magistracy, and we need no more.

(Being part of the famous convention speech of 1853.)

The Power of Greatness.

By THEODORE PARKER, of Massachusetts.
(Born 1810, died 1860.)

IN general, greatness is eminence of ability; so there are as many different forms thereof as there are qualities wherein a man may be eminent. These various forms of greatness should be distinctly marked, that, when we say a man is great, we may know exactly what we mean.

In the rudest ages, when the body is man's only tool for work or war, eminent strength of body is the thing most coveted. Then, and so long as human affairs are controlled by brute force, the giant is thought to be the great man — is held in honor for his eminent brute strength.

When men have a little outgrown that period of force, cunning is the quality most prized. The nimble brain outwits the heavy arm, and brings the circumvented giant to the ground. He who can overreach his antagonist, plotting more subtly, winning with more deceitful skill; who can turn and double on his unseen track, "can smile and smile, and be a villain," — he is the great man.

Brute force is merely animal; cunning is the animalism of the intellect — the mind's least intellectual element.

As men go on in their development, finding qualities more valuable than the strength of the lion or the subtlety of the fox, they come to value higher intellectual faculties — great understanding, great imagination, great reason. Power to think is then the faculty men value most; ability to devise means for attaining ends desired; the power to originate ideas, to express them in speech, to organize them into institutions; to organize things into a machine, men into an army or a state, or a gang of operatives; to administer these various organizations. He who is eminent in this ability is thought the great man.

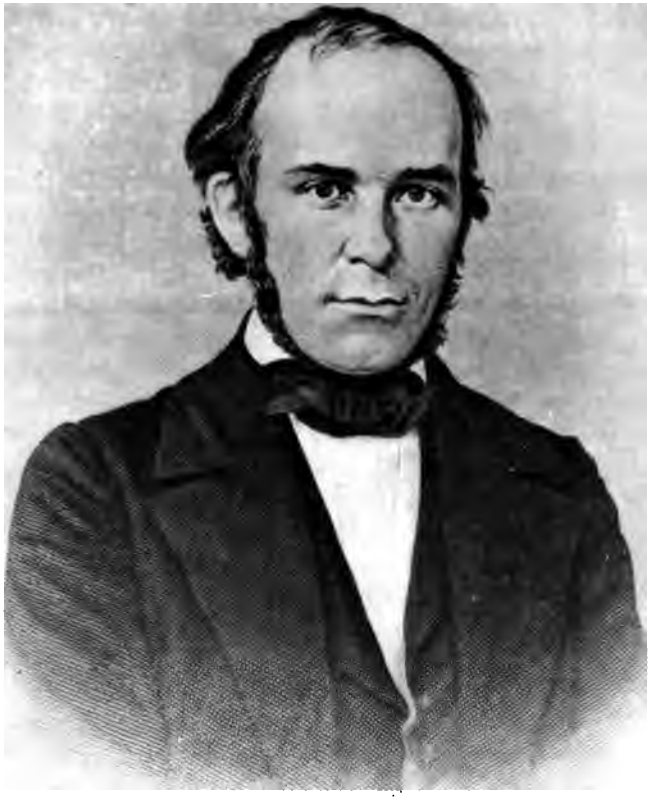
But there are qualities nobler than the mere intellect — the moral, the affectional, the religious faculties — the power of justice, of love, of holiness, of trust in God, and of obedience to his law — the eternal right. These are the highest qualities of man; whoso is most eminent therein is the greatest of great men. He is as much above the merely intellectual great men, as they above the men of mere cunning or force.

Thus, then, we have four different kinds of greatness. Let me name them — bodily greatness, crafty greatness, intellectual greatness, religious greatness. Men in different degrees of development will value the different kinds of greatness. Belial cannot yet honor Christ. How can the little girl appreciate Aristotle and Kant? The child thinks as a child. You must have manhood in you to honor it in others, even to see it.

Yet how we love to honor men eminent in such modes of greatness as we can understand! Indeed, we must do so. Soon as we really see a real great man, his magnetism draws us, will we or no. Do any of you remember when, for the first time in adult years, you stood beside the ocean, or some great mountain of New Hampshire, or Virginia, or Pennsylvania, or the mighty mounts that rise in Switzerland? Do you remember what emotions came upon you at the awful presence? But if you are confronted by a man of vast genius, of colossal history and achievements, immense personal power of wisdom, justice, philanthropy, religion, of mighty power of will and mighty act; if you feel him as you feel the mountain and the sea, what grander emotions spring up! It is like making the acquaintance of one of the elementary forces of the earth — like associating with gravitation itself! The stiffest neck bends over; down go the democratic knees; human nature is loyal then! A New England shipmaster, wrecked on an island in the Indian Sea, was seized by his conquerors, and made their chief. Their captive became their king. After years of rule, he managed to escape. When he once more visited his former realm, he found that the savages had carried him to Heaven, and worshipped him as a god greater than their fancied deities; he had revolutionized divinity, and was himself enthroned as a god. Why so? In intellectual qualities, in religious qualities, he was superior to their idea of God, and so they worshipped him. Thus loyal is human nature to its great men.

Talk of democracy! — we are all looking for a master; a man manlier than we. We are always looking for a great man to solve the difficulty too hard for us, to break the rock which lies in our way,— to represent the possibility of human nature as an ideal, and then to realize that ideal in his life. Little boys in the country, working against time, with stints to do, long for the passing-by of some tall brother, who in a few minutes shall achieve what the smaller boy took hours to do. And we are all of us but little boys, looking for some great brother to come and help us end our tasks.

But it is not quite so easy to recognize the greatest kind of greatness. A Nootka-Sound Indian would not see much in Leibnitz, Newton, Socrates, or Dante; and if a great man were to come as much before us as we are before the Nootka-Sounders, what should we say of him? Why, the worst names we



THEODORE PARKER.

could devise — blasphemer, hypocrite, infidel, atheist. Perhaps, we should dig up the old cross, and make a new martyr of the man posterity will worship as a deity. It is the men who are up that see the rising sun, not the sluggards. It takes greatness to see greatness, and know it at the first; I mean to see greatness of the highest kind. Bulk, anybody can see; bulk of body or mind. The loftiest form of greatness is never popular in its time. Men cannot understand or receive it. Guinea negroes would think a juggler a greater man than Franklin. What would be thought of Martin Luther at Rome, of Washington at St. Petersburg, of Fenelon among the Sacs and Foxes? Herod and Pilate were popular in their day,— men of property and standing. They got nominations and honor enough. Jesus of Nazareth got no nomination, got a cross between two thieves, was crowned with thorns, and, when he died, eleven Galileans gathered together to lament their Lord. Any man can measure a walking-stick,— so many hands long, and so many nails beside; but it takes a mountain intellect to measure the Andes and Altai.

(Being part of an address on the death of Daniel Webster.)

Railroads and Recreation.

By CHAUNCEY M. DEPEW, of New York.
(Born 1834.)

I AM glad to see that your numbers have increased so much since I was here one year ago; whether it is because you have all joined since then, or you were not all here at that time, I don't know, but I take it that it is because of the additions to the association.

Our chairman was too modest to-night when he spoke of the ten years since this organization was founded, because without him it would not have been created, and except for his constant aid and advice it would never have reached the position which it has attained to-day; and when I look forward to the next ten years, to the usefulness, the enormous growth, and the influences which are to spring from the building upon the corner yonder, also built by Mr. Vanderbilt, I believe that the effect of the work in that building on the intellectual, moral, and physical health of the men belonging to the various railroads that center at the Grand Central station will extend to every railroad in the United States, and that the managers will see to it that an institution so useful, an influence so grand, shall be established on their own lines, and buildings of the same character erected out of their own funds at all the principal centers where their men gather.

I was struck with one remark made this afternoon in a conversation with Mr. Morse, the Secretary of the International Committee, which looks after this branch. He said that since this room was opened the influence had been far-reaching, embracing not only the men employed here, but the management of other roads themselves; and alluded to the establishment of branches elsewhere as a result of the success which has been attained here. It impressed upon my mind the thought that has been there a long time, that there is but one railroad in the United States — the New York Central — and that all the others are branches.

The last time I met Morse was in Germany last summer, and like all good Americans I wanted to go to Strasburg and see the wonderful clock in the famous cathedral. You know about that clock; it strikes, and the apostles come out. They belong to the mechanism which is wound up to go nine hundred and

ninety-nine years, and not to stop till the last moment of time. Whether it will fulfill its inventor's claims I do not expect to live to see. Well, I went on the railroad from Baden-Baden with my family to see that clock. We had fifteen minutes leeway when we arrived, and it took seven minutes to get from the depot to the cathedral. When half-way to Strasburg I discovered that we were twelve minutes late, and I offered the German conductor a month's salary if he would make up the time. He told me the next day when I went back that he did not get the idea through his head till he came down the next morning. He would never do for a conductor on the New York Central. You know how it is with German railways — they are run by the Government. There are some people who want the railways run by the Government here. Well, a railway run by the Government goes this way: an express train makes twenty miles an hour, and stops every twenty minutes for refreshments; and a way train runs twelve miles an hour, and stops from thirty to sixty minutes at each station. When we reached the depot we had just five minutes left. I had telegraphed for a carriage, and I tumbled my wife and her mother, and "little buster" and myself into it, and the courier got on the box and told the coachman to go ahead, and then he waved his umbrella and shouted to all the people to get out of the way. The first dog that saw us coming gave a yelp, and that started all the dogs in Strasburg barking and running after us in full chorus; people jumped to one side and shook their heads, and we got to the door of the cathedral just as the crowd was coming out — it was all over. When I got inside, the first man I saw was Morse; he was smiling at me like a brightly shining tin-pan on a farmer's fence, because I got left. He said: "Depew, when I want to get anywhere in time, I go over night." He would not do for a conductor on the New York Central.

Now, very few of us appreciate precisely the amount of growth that starts from nothing and in ten years reaches sixty associations and ten thousand members; but it is like everything connected with the railways in this country — for that matter, with everything else in this country — a marvelous growth. It is difficult to understand or comprehend that it is less than sixty years since the first locomotive was seen in America; less than sixty years since the first one was built by that grand old American, Peter Cooper. Uncle Peter saw the locomotive that was brought over here from England, and keeping alert, as he always did, and up with the progress of the times, he thought that whatever an Englishman could do an American could do a great deal better. And so he built his locomotive — the "Tom Thumb." The stage-coach was not going to give up so easily, and they put a swift horse on and beat him — the locomo-

CHAUNCEY M. DEPEW.

tive ran by a band passing around a cylinder, and the band slipped off — but that is the last time for sixty years and forever, that the stage-coach will outrun the locomotive. There were only thirteen miles of railroad then in the United States; now there are one hundred and thirty thousand. A fifty-ton engine takes seventy-five cars of twenty tons each and draws them along without an effort; and as for speed, Mr. Vanderbilt and I ran all day long, a short time ago, making an average of fifty-four seconds to the mile, running time, and without apparently going at half the speed.

But the greatest, the most satisfactory, feature of railroad development is the men engaged in operating the roads. With those who are actually in the service, and those who contribute by supplies, one-tenth of the working force of the United States is in the railroad service; and that tenth includes the most energetic men and most intelligent among the workers of this magnificent country. There are ten million workingmen in this country, and six hundred thousand are directly employed in the railway service. With their families they constitute a larger population than the largest of the States. They are a republic in themselves, and yet they are the most loyal, the most law-abiding, and most useful and patriotic of citizens. They do not seek aggrandizement themselves; they do not seek by secrecy and force to accomplish selfish purposes or to do injury to anybody; they simply try to live in a brotherly way among those who are engaged in other pursuits, and to labor for the improvement of the country and the elevation of themselves and of their brethren. Now if this republic of railroad men, in these days when all classes of labor are organizing, should organize, with their societies, their pass-words, their officers, their signs, and their grips, they would constitute one of the most powerful as well as intelligent forces in this Republic for good or for evil. They must necessarily, on account of the business they do and the responsibilities which devolve upon them, be men of character, men of intelligence, and men of health; for upon them devolve a larger responsibility and a greater duty than upon any of the workers in other pursuits. Men who are engaged in tilling farms, in manufactures, or other lines of business, are all dependent upon the railroads. The railroad man is in a sense the servant of them all; he it is that makes the farm worth anything; to him are intrusted the products, the goods, and the lives of the people of the country; it is necessary that he, above all others, should be a man upon whom reliance can be placed — a man of character, of courage, of strength.

The railroad is a republic which refutes the theories that come from long-haired men who never work themselves. The worst service that is done to the

workingmen of this country is the lip service of men who never work and could not be made to work. Now we are told that we are in the midst of a condition of affairs where the conflict between labor and capital has become so acute and intense that labor is crushed and can never rise. We are told that the opportunities which existed in one period of our history for a man to better his condition have gone, and that they will never come back again. We are told by the reporters that my friend Henry George said, in a speech at Paterson, that the condition of the laboring man is worse than that of the Southern slaves ever was. Well, I am a worker myself — my condition is a good deal better; you are all workers, and know how absurd is all such talk. The railroad refutes these theories practically. The railroad has its rules, its constitutions, its discipline; but what organization amounts to anything without discipline and rule? Rules and discipline are not to oppress anybody, not to take away anybody's rights; but they are to protect the public who use the railway on the one hand, and they are to protect the employee who works for the railway on the other; to see that he is not killed by his fellow employees; to see that no carelessness plunges him to his death; to see that he is not robbed or cheated by his superior officers; to see that he, as well as everybody, is protected.

There is no democracy like the railway system of this land. Men are not taken out of rich men's parlors and placed in positions of responsibility. Men are not taken because they are sons of such, and put into paying places in the railway system; but the superintendents all over the country — the men who officer and man the passenger, the freight, the motive power and accounting departments — all of them come up from the bottom. And are you going to stop this thing? No; there are no men being born, or to be born, who are to be by inheritance the superintendents, treasurers, comptrollers, auditors, the freight and ticket agents, the conductors, the yardmasters — who are to be the master mechanics, the foremen of the shops of the future. They are not born. They have got to be made, and come from the bottom up. And in every one of these departments to-day, in every railroad in the United States, in the humblest positions, earning the smallest salaries, are men who within the next twenty-five years are to fill all these places by promotion. Don't tell me there is no chance to rise in this country. There are vacancies to occur in the next thirty years in thousands of positions of power, and every one of them will be filled by men who prove, by coming up grade by grade, that they have got brains and courage and power to fit these offices.

There is another advantage with railroad men, and that is the permanence of their employment. Skilled mechanics have lay-offs, and hard times when

there is no work, and periods when through no fault of theirs they are compelled to take up any kind of labor which offers; but the employees of the railroad are rarely disturbed, and almost every good position on our road is filled by a man who has been with the company more than twenty years.

The best thing I remember connected with myself (and a personal incident is always a good one) is, that when I graduated from Yale I thought I would lead a life of scholastic ease. I thought I would read and write a little, take it easy, and have a good time. I had a hard-headed old father of sturdy Holland-Dutch ancestry. He had money enough to take care of me, and I knew it; and when he discovered that I knew it and intended to act accordingly, it was a cold day for me, and he said to me: "You will never get a dollar from me except through my will. From this time forth you have got to make your own way." Well, I found I had a hard lot of it — nobody had a harder one — and the old gentleman stood by and let me tussle and fight it out. I bless him to-night with all the heart and gratitude I have for that. If he had taken the other course, what would I have done? I would have been up in Peekskill to-night nursing a stove, cursing the men who had succeeded in the world, and wondering by what exceptional luck they had got on; but having to dig my way along I got beyond everything my father ever dreamed of; but it was done by fourteen hours, or sixteen, or eighteen hours work a day, if necessary. It is done by temperance, by economy; when you make a dollar, spend seventy-five cents and put the other twenty-five by. Don't bury savings in a stocking, or put them in nickel-plate bonds, but put them in Government bonds, or in a house and lot

Well, the question occurs, as to this vast body of young men, who have before them the opportunity to rise, to share great places in all the railroads of the country, "How are they to be trained, saved from temptation, and made better?" Now, I suppose that every well-ordered man in the community works about ten hours a day. (As I say, I work fourteen hours a day, and have for twenty years.) I suppose that he takes seven hours for sleep, two hours for his meals, that is nine; he has at least four hours left. What is he going to do with them? These four hours, if I figure it rightly, amount to two months in a year. No man can stand still. When God created us he did a fortunate thing for us; he made us so that we must either go back or forward. A man knows more to-day than yesterday, or he knows less. A man who sits down and bottoms a chair, and gets up and goes to his meals, and then goes back and bottoms a chair again, in the course of five years will be the biggest dunce in the community, and his opinion will not be worth knowing. He will lose his power for work and will not be worth three cents an hour. A man is just like a locomotive

always running on an up-grade: Ambition is the engineer, Hope the fireman; the stations where he stops to take in coal and water are home, the church, his society, whatever it may be, associations like this, or the library. There are no brakes on that engine, and when he stops and the engineer and fireman jump off, the engine goes down. Now, he has four hours a day, or two months in a year. What is he going to do with them? A gentleman in the community — an exceedingly pleasant gentleman — steps up to him, and says: "I'll tell you what to do, my friend." And that gentleman is called the Devil. Some people don't believe in a personal Devil; I do. I meet him every day in my life, and he is one of the most agreeable fellows I know. Now he says: "Don't mope around home; don't be bothering your head with the women; let the children go to school and take care of themselves; don't be sitting down and reading books and all that sort of thing; what you want is recreation." Yes; that's so; he does want recreation; he has been at work, perhaps, all night. It may be he is a conductor or fireman, or he has been all day in the yard or shop. He wants recreation, so the Devil takes him into a poolroom and says: "Play a game; bet your money." There is one element, one instinct, dormant in every man born into this world, and that is the instinct of gambling. It is there, and if the temptation comes, it is bound to be aroused, and once aroused, it is the most difficult passion to suppress. The instinct is inflamed, and that young man goes home to his wife feverish, irritable; comes home another night more irritable, more feverish; his home becomes the last place he wants to see; he anticipates his wages; borrows against them, if he is in a place where he can do it; he steals; and then he becomes a thief and fugitive; and that settles him. Or the Devil takes a young man by the arm and says: "Come into the saloon — here is a free lunch, free billiards, free dominoes; take them." Then he says to him as he goes out: "Are you going to allow the generous landlord to provide all these things and then pay his own rent?" "What shall I do?" "Take a drink." "Alone?" "No; treat somebody; call up the boys." In a little while he takes him again. He becomes intoxicated; he arouses the notice of his superior officers; he is discharged; he goes from a house into rooms; from rooms into a single room; his wife becomes wretched and miserable; she does what she can to earn something; and his children, from being promising and beautiful, begin to weaken, go out into the streets and form associations, and find them at home in his own language and conduct, that make them subjects for the criminal classes of the future.

Now, it behooves railroads, charitable men, religious men, and men who are neither charitable nor religious, but who have homes to take care of and lives that they value and want to preserve — it behooves them to provide the

recreation for this man. Give him a room more comfortable than the saloon; larger accommodations than the saloon; games where there is no gambling; libraries where he can select what is in his bent of mind to read; lectures of the best that the minds of men who have devoted their lives to a specific purpose can produce; the stereopticon that will place upon the canvas, almost as real as nature, the cities and places of interest throughout the world; get him to bring his wife with him, his children with him, and make him feel that he is a man, grown larger to-day than he was yesterday, to be larger to-morrow than he is to-day; that his children are coming up and helping him along; that the important places in the railway, as they become vacant, are to be his.

Twenty-five years ago in Peekskill I knew every man, woman, and child in that place. I was active in every work in the town; I belonged to the fire company; I made all the speeches on every occasion, and especially at the target shoots. I have presented more plated ware from men who wanted to be Congressmen, county officers, members of Assembly, or justices of the peace, and who contributed them as prizes for the annual target shoot, than you could count; and in that way I became acquainted with almost everybody in Peekskill. And it has been a study with me to mark boys who started in every grade of life with myself, to see what has become of them. I was up last fall and began to count them over, and it was an instructive exhibit. Some of them became clerks, merchants, manufacturers, lawyers, doctors. It was remarkable that every one of those who drank is dead; not one living of my age. Barring a few who were taken off by sickness, every one who proved a wreck and wrecked his family did it from rum, and no other cause. Of those who were church-going people, who were steady, industrious and hard-working men, who were frugal and thrifty, every single one of them, without an exception, owns the house in which he lives, and has something laid by, the interest on which, with his house, would carry him through many a rainy day.

(An address on the tenth anniversary of the organization of the R. R. Y. M. C. A. at New York, January 4, 1887.)

The Mother's Wonder.

By PHILLIPS BROOKS, D. D., of Massachusetts.
(Born 1835, died 1893.)

THE mother of Jesus is the speaker, and it is of Jesus that she asks her question. On the way home from the temple at Jerusalem, where they had gone to worship, you remember, they missed the child Jesus from their company. On going back they found him in the temple, "sitting in the midst of the doctors, both hearing them and asking them questions." Then it was that his mother said unto him, "Son, why hast thou thus dealt with us? Behold thy father and I have sought thee sorrowing." And he said unto them, "How is it that ye sought me? Wist ye not that I must be about my Father's business?"

"Why hast thou dealt thus with us?" It is a puzzled question. The boy who had been an obedient child in her household, whom she had cared for in her own way and found always docile to her guidance, had suddenly passed beyond her and done a thing which she could not understand. It seemed as if she had lost him. Her tone is full of love, but there is something almost like jealousy about it. He has taken himself into his own keeping, and this one act seems to foretell the time when he will take his whole life into his own hands, and leave her outside altogether. The time has past when she could hold him as a babe upon her bosom as she carried him down into Egypt. The time is prophesied already when he should go in his solitude up to the cross, and only leave his mother weeping at the foot. She is bidden to stand by and see her Son do his work and live his life, which thus far has been all of her shaping, in ways she cannot understand. No wonder that it is a clear, critical moment in her life. No wonder that her question still rings with the pain that she put into it. No wonder that when she went home, although he was still "subject unto her," her life with her son was all changed, and she "kept all these sayings in her heart."

I think that this question of the mother of Jesus reveals an experience of the human heart which is very common, which is most common in the best hearts and those who feel their responsibility the most. It is an experience which well deserves our study, and I ask you this morning to think about it

with me in some of its examples. The Virgin Mary is the perpetual type of people who, intrusted with any great and sacred interest, identify their own lives with that interest and care for it conscientiously; but who, by-and-by, when the interest begins to manifest its own vitality and to shape its own methods, are filled with perplexity. They cannot keep the causes for which they labor under their own care. As his mother asked of Jesus, so they are always asking of the objects for which they live, "Why hast thou thus dealt with us?" Such people are people who have realized responsibility more than they have realized God. Just as Mary felt at the moment when she asked this question, that Jesus was her son more than that he was God's Son, so there is a constant tendency among the most earnest and conscientious people, to feel that the causes for which they live and work are their causes, more than that they are God's causes, and so to experience something which is almost like jealousy, when they see those causes pass beyond their power and fulfill themselves in larger ways than theirs. For such people, often the most devoted and faithful souls among us, it seems to me that there must be some help and light in this story of Jesus and his mother.

The first and simplest case of the experience which I want to speak of, is that which comes nearest to the circumstances of our story. It comes in every childhood. It comes whenever a boy grows up to the time at which he passes beyond the merely parental government which belonged to his earliest years. It comes with all assertion of individual character and purpose in a boy's life. A boy has had his career all identified with his home where he was cradled. What he was and did, he was and did as a member of that household. But by-and-by there comes some sudden outbreak of a personal energy. He shows some disposition, and attempts some task distinctively his own. It is a puzzling moment alike for the child and for the father. The child is perplexed with pleasure which is almost pain to find himself for the first time doing an act which is genuinely his own. The father is filled with a pain which yet has pride and pleasure in it to see his boy doing something original, something which he never bade him do, something which, perhaps, he could not do himself. The real understanding of that moment, both to child and father, depends upon one thing — upon whether they can see in it the larger truth that this child is not merely the son of his father, but also is the son of God. If they both understand that, then the child, as he undertakes his personal life, passes not into a looser, but into a stronger, responsibility. And the father is satisfied to see his first authority over his son grow less, because he cannot be jealous of God. It is a noble progress and expansion of life, when the first independent venture of a young man on a career of his own, is not the willful claim of the prodigal:

PHILLIPS BROOKS, D.D.

"Give me the portion of goods that falleth to me,"— but the reverent appeal of Jesus: "Wist ye not that I must be about my Father's business?"

Let this serve for an illustration. It is the scene which, recurring in every household, as a boy claims his own life, is constantly repeating the experience of the household of Nazareth. And now all responsible life, all life intrusted with the care of any of God's causes, has this same sort of correspondence with the life of the mother of Jesus. There can be no higher specimen of responsibility than she exhibits. She is intrusted with the care of him who is to be the Saviour of the world. And that responsibility she accepts entirely. She is willing to give up everything else in life, to be absorbed and worn out in the task of supreme privilege which God has given her. There comes no trouble or lack in the degree of her readiness for labor or for pain. But the quality of her self-sacrifice shows its defect elsewhere. She is not able to see where the limits of her work must be. She is not able to stop short in her devout responsibility, when the task passes beyond her power, and her son begins to deal directly with his father.

Compare with her, in the first place, that person with whom we are familiar in all the history of Christianity, whom we see about us constantly — the champion of the Faith, the man who counts it his work in life to maintain and protect the purity of the belief in Christ. It is a noble task for a man to accept. It is filled with anxiety. The faith for which the man cares is beset with many dangers. It costs him sleepless nights and weary days. He incurs dislike; he excites hostility by his eager zeal. To all this he is fully equal. The danger of many a stout champion of truth comes quite at the other end. There comes a time when God, as it were, takes back into his own keeping that faith over which he has bidden his disciples to stand guard. The truth begins to show a vitality upon which the believer has not counted. It puts itself into new forms. It develops new associations. No wonder that he is troubled. No wonder that, unless he is a large and thoughtful man, thoroughly reverent of truth as well as thoroughly devoted to the truths which he has held, he grudges truth in some way the larger freedom which it is claiming for itself, and almost opposes its development.

Take an example. A good man has for years counted himself a champion of the often denied and insulted justice of God. He has been ready to maintain it everywhere. Against all weak representations of God as a being all indulgence, he has asserted that God must punish wickedness. That truth he has supported, as he has conceived it, in its simplest, crudest form — physical, unending punishment. Suppose the day comes when that faith claims for itself a free and more spiritual meaning; when men's souls become aware that in the

world to come, as in this world, the punishment of sin must be bound up in sin itself; when not the agonies of Hell, but the degradation of the moral nature, stands out as the dreadful thing. No wonder that at first, the surprised believer is almost dismayed. His faith, over which he has stood guard so faithfully, seems to be slipping away from him. His faith seems to be playing him false. He is bewildered, as Mary was when Jesus for the first time began to show his personal will and ways. But by-and-by the time came when she rejoiced in it, no doubt. "Whatsoever he saith unto you, do it," she ordered the servants at the marriage in Cana. By that time she had learned to trust her Son far out of her own sight, to look to his own self-development with perfect confidence. And so the believer, and the champion of belief, comes in the course of time to rejoice when his belief outgrows him; when what he has to stand guard over is seen to be, not the special form in which a dogma has been conceived, but the spirit to which knowledge can come, and to which it must come always more spiritually and richly; not the truth, but truthfulness.

It does seem to me that this is what many a believer needs to learn to-day. His faith seems to be slipping away from him. Truths will not remain the definite and docile things they used to be. His doctrine opens into some deeper form. He turns to the doctrine he has held and says to it, "Why have you dealt thus with me?" "Why will you leave me?" And the answer is, "I must be about my Father's business." Truth is God's child. Truth must be what God wills, not what the believer wills. It is a blessed day for the believer when he learns this, and thenceforth only waits to see what new forms God will give his faith from year to year, and then is ready to follow it into whatever new regions God will send it forth to seek. * * *

Mary learned two things about her Son that day in the temple, things which she had known before, but which became perfectly and permanently clear to her there. One was, that his life, was mysteriously larger than her own. The other was, that God was over and behind her, caring for that life for which she had been caring. The largeness and mystery of her Son's life and the fatherhood of God to him, those two things she learned there, and thenceforth they were part of her life always. She never can have forgotten them again. They must have made all the future service that she rendered to him at once more faithful and more calm and more sacred. And my dear friend, you, too, must learn these truths about the life of any man whom you are trying to help, any man who seems to be committed to you by God, or you cannot really help him as he needs. You must know the mystery of his life and his sonship to God.

Ah, how God sometimes teaches us those things about some one whom we are trying to guide and aid. We have undertaken our task very flippantly and

narrowly. "Well, this is my man," we say, "I do not see who else can help him, and so I will. I will patronize him. I understand him; I see what is to be made out of him; I will make him this, and this,"— laying some fine plan down in our mind. "This is what he shall be," and so you take your scholar into your school; your companion into your company; what you call your friend into what you call your friendship. The time must come, if you are ever really going to be of deepest use to that man, when, out of something which he says or does, these two truths come to you about him, that he is larger in his nature, more mysterious than you can grasp, and that he is the son of God, led by his Father, over and above your care. * * *

But we must not stop here. There is a yet deeper and closer care laid upon a man than his care for his brother, and that is the care of himself, of his own soul. And there too the truth applies which we have won out of our story of Jesus and his mother. There too it is true that a man cannot execute his responsibility aright unless in that for which he is responsible he sees something mysterious, and a child of God.

A man's care for himself! How strange it is! How a man seems to separate his life; to stand off, as it were, and gaze at his own life with criticism and anxiety. It is the commonest of all experiences with all thoughtful people. "Know thyself," says the old proverb; as if the knower and the known were genuinely two, distinct from one another. "Keep thy heart with diligence" says Scripture, as if the heart and the heartkeeper were separate. The will and wisdom stand guard over the conscience and the character.

A man who is really thoughtful, who has risen to the capacity of such self-care, praises himself, and blames himself, with a more even-handed justice because with a more intimate and conscientious knowledge, than that with which he judges of the lives of other men. He is to himself like something outside of himself with whose conditions nevertheless all his own fortunes are inextricably bound up. Therefore he lays out plans for his own treatment. He says: "I will make myself this or that." He says, "I will bring myself to my best in this or that way." And then, as he tries to carry out his plans, he becomes aware that on this self of his which he considered so entirely his own, in his own power, some other force besides his own is working. He finds himself the subject of some other will and wisdom, some other education than his own. His plans for his own life are overruled and interfered with. He meant to educate his self by self-indulgence; this other force, below his own, sweeps his self off into distress and deprivation. He meant to live in self-complacency; the deeper force plunges him into mortification and shame. It is as if the wind thought that it was ruling the waves which it tossed to and fro, but gradually became aware

of the tide which underneath was heaving the great ocean on whose surface only the wind spent its force.

Is this a true picture of human life as the thoughtful man comes to know it? I think it is. Who is there of us that is not aware that his soul has had two educations? Sometimes the two have been in opposition; sometimes they have overlapped; sometimes they have wholly coincided; but always the two have been two. Our own government of ourselves is most evident, is the one which we are most aware of, so that sometimes for a few moments we forget that there is any other; but very soon our plans for ourselves are so turned and altered and hindered that we cannot ignore the other greater, deeper force. We meant to do that, and look! we have been led on to this. We meant to be this, and lo! we are that. We never meant to believe this, and lo, we hold it with all our hearts. What does it mean? It is the everlasting discovery, the discovery which each thoughtful man makes for himself with almost as much surprise as if no other man had ever made it for himself before, that this soul, for which he is responsible, is not his soul only, but is God's soul too. The revelation which came of old to the Virgin Mother about her child — not your child only, but God's child too; yours, genuinely, really yours, but behind yours, and over yours, God's.

That is the great revelation about life. When it comes, everything about one's self-culture is altered. Every anticipation and thought of living changes its color. It comes sometimes early, and sometimes late in life. Sometimes it is the flush and glow which fills childhood with dewy hope and beauty. Sometimes it is the peace which gathers about old age and makes it happy. Whenever it comes it makes life new. See what the changes are which it must bring. First it makes anything like a bewildering surprise impossible. When I have once taken it into my account that God has his plans for my soul's culture, that these plans of his outgo and supersede any plans for it which I can make, then any new turn that comes is explicable to me, and, though I may not have anticipated it all, I am not overwhelmed, nor disturbed, nor dismayed by it. I find a new conviction growing in my soul, another view of life, another kind of faith. It is not what I had intended. I had determined that as long as I lived, I would believe something very different from this which I now feel rising and taking possession of me. It seems at first as if my soul had been disloyal to me, and had turned its back faithlessly upon my teaching. I appeal to it, and say: "Soul, why hast thou thus dealt with me?" And it answers back to me: "Wist you not, that I must be about my Father's business? Did you not know that I was God's soul as well as your soul? This is something which he has taught me."

(Being part of a sermon.)

The Finger of God.

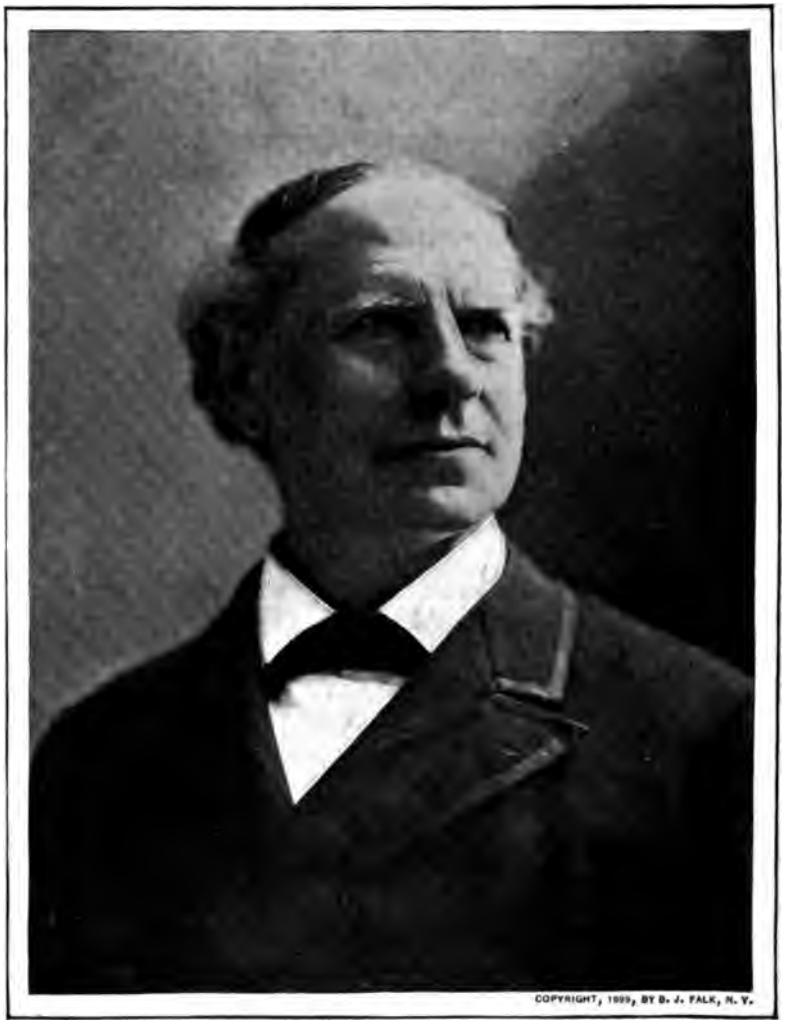
By Rev. T. DeWITT TALMAGE, of New Jersey.

Exodus, 8:19: "The finger of God."

(Born 1832.)

PHARAOH was sulking in his marble throne room at Memphis. Plague after plague had come, and sometimes the Egyptian monarch was disposed to do better, but at the lifting of each plague, he was as bad as before. The necromancers of the palace, however, were compelled to recognize the divine movement, and after one of the most exasperating plagues of all the series, they cried out in the words of my text: "This is the finger of God," not the first nor the last time when bad people said a good thing. An old Philadelphia friend visiting me the other day, asked me if I had ever noticed the passage of Scripture from which I to-day speak. I told him no, and I said right away, "That is a good text for a sermon." In strange way sometimes God suggests to his servants useful discourse. It would be a great book that would give the history of sermons.

We all recognize the hand of God, and know it is a mighty hand. You have seen a man keep two or three rubber balls flying in the air, catching and pitching them so that none of them fell to the floor, and do this for several minutes, and you have admired his dexterity; but have you thought how the hand of God keeps thousands and thousands of round worlds vastly larger than our world flying for centuries without letting one fall? Wondrous power and skill of God's hand! But about that I am not to discourse. My text leads me to speak of less than a fifth of the divine hand. "This is the finger of God." Only in two other places does the Bible refer to this division of the Omnipotent hand. The rocks on Mount Sinai are basalt and very hard stone. Do you imagine it was a chisel that cut the ten commandments in that basalt? No, in Exodus we read that the tables of stone were "written with the finger of God." Christ says that he cast out devils with "the finger of God." The only instance that Christ wrote a word, he wrote not with a pen on parchment, but with his finger on the ground. Yet, though so seldom reference is made in the Bible to a part of God's hand, if you and I keep our eyes open and our heart right, we will be compelled often to cry out, "This is the finger of God."



REV. T. DEWITT TALMAGE.

To most of us gesticulation is natural. If a stranger accost you on the street and ask you the way to some place, it is as natural as to breathe for you to level your forefinger this way or that. Not one out of a thousand of you would stand with your hands by your side and make no motion with your finger. Whatever you may say with your lips is emphasized and reinforced and translated by your finger. Now, God, in the dear old Book, says to us innumerable things by the way of direction. He plainly tells us the way to go. But in every exigency of our life, if we will only look, we will find a providential gesture and a providential pointing, so that we may confidently say, "This is the finger of God." Two or three times in my life when perplexed on questions of duty after earnest prayer I have cast lots as to what I should do. In olden times the Lord's people cast lots. The land of Canaan was divided by lot; the cities were divided among the priests and Levites by lot; Matthias was chosen to the apostleship by lot. Now, casting lots is about the most solemn thing you can do. It should never be done except with solemnity, like that of the last judgment. It is a direct appeal to the Almighty. If, after earnest prayer, you do not seem to get the divine direction, I think you might, without sin, write upon one slip of paper "Yes" and upon another "No," or some other words appropriate to the case, and then obliterating from your mind the identity of the slips of paper, draw the decision and act upon it. In that case I think you have a right to take that indication as the finger of God. But do not do that except as the last resort, and with a devoutness that leaves absolutely all with God.

For much that concerns us we have no responsibility, and we need not make appeal to the Lord for direction. We are not responsible for most of our surroundings; we are not responsible for the country of our birth, nor for whether we are Americans or Norwegians or Scotchmen or Irishmen or Englishmen; we are not responsible for our temperament, be it nervous or phlegmatic, bilious or sanguine; we are not responsible for our features, be they homely or beautiful; we are not responsible for the height or smallness of our stature; we are not responsible for the fact that we are mentally dull or brilliant. For the most of our environments, we have no more responsibility than we have for the mollusks at the botton of the Atlantic ocean. I am very glad that there are many things that we are not responsible for. Do not blame one for being in his manner as cold as an iceberg or nervous as a cat amid a pack of Fourth of July crackers. If you are determined to blame somebody, blame our great-grandfathers, or our great-grandmothers, who died before the Revolutionary War, and who may have had habits depressing and ruinous. There are wrong things about all of us, which make me think that one hundred and fifty

years ago there was some terrible crank in our ancestral line. Realize that and it will be a relief, semi-infinite. Let us take ourselves as we are at this moment, and then ask, "Which way?" Get all the direction you can from careful and constant study of the Bible, and then look up and look out and look around, and see if you can find the finger of God.

It is a remarkable thing that sometimes no one can see that finger but yourself. A year before Abraham Lincoln signed the Proclamation of Emancipation, the White House was thronged with committees and associations, ministers and laymen, advising the President to make that Proclamation. But he waited and waited, amid scoff and anathema, because he did not himself see the finger of God. After awhile, and at just the right time, he saw the divine pointing and signed the Proclamation. The distinguished Confederates, Mason and Slidell, were taken off an English vessel by the United States Government. "Don't give them up," shouted all the Northern States. "Let us have war with England rather than surrender them," was the almost unanimous cry of the North. But William H. Seward saw the finger of God leading in just the opposite direction, and the Confederates were given up, and we avoided a war with England, which at that time would have been the demolition of the United States Government. In other words, the finger of God, as it directs you, may be invisible to everybody else. Follow the divine pointing, as you see it, although the world may call you a fool. There has never been a man or woman who amounted to anything that has not sometimes been called a fool. Nearly all the mistakes that you and I have made have come from our following the pointing of some other finger, instead of the finger of God. But, now, suppose all forms of disaster close in upon a man. Suppose his business collapses. Suppose he buys goods and cannot sell them. There are men of vast wealth who are as rich for Heaven as they are for this world, but they are exceptions. If a man grows in grace, it is generally before he gets one hundred thousand dollars, or after he loses them. If a man has plenty of railroad securities and has applied to his banker for more; if the lots he bought have gone up fifty per cent. in value; if he had hard work to get the door of his fireproof safe shut because of the new roll of securities he put in there just before locking up at night; if he be speculating in a falling market, or a rising market, and things take for him a right turn, he does not grow in grace very much that week. Suppose a cold spring or a late autumn or the coming of an epidemic corners a man, and his notes come due and he cannot meet them, and his rent must be paid, and there is nothing with which to pay it, and the wages of the employees are due and there is nothing with which to meet that obligation, and the bank will not discount, and the business friends to whom he goes

for accommodation are in the same predicament, and he bears up and struggles on, until, after a while, crash goes the whole concern. He stands wondering and saying: "I do not see the meaning of all this; I have done the best I could. God knows I would pay my debts if I could, but here I am hedged in and stopped." What should that man do in that case? Go to the Scriptures and read the promise about all things working together for good, and kindred passages? That is well. But he needs to do something besides reading the Scriptures. He needs to look for the finger of God that is pointing toward better treasures; that is pointing toward eternal release; that is urging him to higher realms. No human finger ever pointed to the East or West or North or South so certainly as the finger of God is pointing that troubled man to higher and better spiritual resources than he ever enjoyed. I am speaking of whole-souled men. Such men are so broken by calamity that they are humbled and fly to God for relief. Men who have no spirit and never expect anything are not much affected by financial changes. They are as apt to go into the kingdom under one set of circumstances as another. They are dead beats wherever they are. The only way to get rid of them is to lend them a dollar, and you will never see them again. I have tried that plan and it works well. But I am speaking of the effects of misfortune on high-spirited men. Nothing but trial will turn such men from earth to Heaven.

Do you know what made the great revival of 1857, when more people were converted to God, probably, than in any year since Christ was born? It was the defalcations and bankruptcies which swept American prosperity so flat that it could fall no flatter. It is only through clouds and darkness and whirlwind of disaster such men can see the finger of God.

A most interesting, as well as a most useful, study is to watch the pointing of the finger of God. In the seventeenth century, South Carolina was yielding resin and turpentine and tar as her chief productions. But Thomas Smith noticed that the ground near his house in Charleston was very much like the places in Madagascar where he had raised rice, and some of the Madagascar rice was sown there and grew so rapidly that South Carolina was led to make rice her chief production. Can you not see the finger of God in that incident? Rev. John Fletcher, of England, many will know, was one of the most useful ministers of the Gospel who ever preached. Before conversion he joined the Army and had bought his ticket on the ship for South America. The morning he was to sail someone spilled on him a kettle of hot water, and he was so scalded he could not go. He was very much disappointed, but the ship he was going to sail on went out and was never heard of again. Who can doubt that God was arranging the life of John Fletcher? Was it merely

accident that Richard Rodda, a Cornish miner, who was on his knees praying, remained unhurt, though heavy stones fell before him and behind him and on each side of him, and another fell on top of these so as to make a roof over him? F. W. Robertson, the great preacher of Brighton, England, had his life-work decided by the barking of his dog. A neighbor, whose daughter was ill, was disturbed by the barking of that dog one night. This brought the neighbor into communication with Robertson. That acquaintanceship kept him from joining the dragoons, and going to India and spending his life in military service, and reserved him for a pulpit, the influence of which, for Gospelization, will resound for all time and all eternity. Why did not Columbus sink when, in early manhood, he was afloat six miles from the beach with nothing to sustain him till he could swim to land but a boat's oar? I wonder if his preservation had anything to do with America? Had the storm that diverted *The Mayflower* from the mouth of the Hudson, for which it was sailing, and sent it ashore at Cape Cod, no divine supervisal? Does anarchy rule this world, or God?

St. Felix escaped martyrdom by crawling through a hole in the wall across which the spiders immediately afterward wove a web. His persecutors saw the hole in the wall, but the spider's web put them off the track. A boy was lost by his drunken father, and could not for years find his way home. Nearly grown, he went into a Fulton street prayer-meeting and asked for prayers that he might find his parents. His mother was in the room, and rose, and recognized her long-lost son. Do you say that these things "only happened so?" Tell that to those who do not believe in a God and have no faith in the Bible. Do not tell it to me. I said to an aged minister of much experience, "All the events of my life seem to have been divinely connected. Do you suppose it is so in all lives?" He answered, "Yes, but most people do not notice the divine leadings." I stand here to say from my own experience that the safest thing in all the world to do is to trust the Lord. I never had a misfortune, or a persecution, or a trial, or a disappointment, however excruciating at the time, that God did not make turn out for my good. My one wish is to follow the divine leading. I want to watch the finger of God.

But notice that this finger of God, almost always and in almost everything, points forward, and not backward. All the way through the Bible, the lamb and pigeon on the altar, the pillar of fire poised above the wilderness, peace offering, sin offering, trespass offering, fingers of Joseph and Isaac and Joshua and David and Isaiah and Micah and Ezekiel, all together made the one finger of God pointing to the human, the divine, the gracious, the glorious, the omnipotent, the gentle, the pardoning and suffering and atoning Christ. And now the same finger of God is pointing the world upward to the same Redeemer and forward

to the time of his universal domination. My hearers, get out of the habit of looking back and looking down and look up and look forward. It is useful once in awhile to look back, but you had better, for the most part of the time, stop reminiscence and begin anticipation. We have, most of us, hardly begun yet. If we love the Lord and trust him — and you may all love him and trust him from this moment on — we no more understand the good things ahead of us than a child at school studying his A B C can understand what that has to do with his reading John Ruskin's "Seven Lamps of Architecture," or Dante's "Divina Commedia." The satisfactions and joys we have as yet had are like the music a boy makes with his first lesson on the violin compared with what was evoked from his great orchestra by my dear and illustrious and transcendent, but now departed friend, Patrick Gilmore, when he lifted his baton and all the strings vibrated, and all the trumpets pealed forth, and all the flutes caroled, and all the drums rolled, and all the hoofs of the cavalry charge, which he imitated, were in full beat. Look ahead! The finger of God points forward.

My friends, I do not know how we are going to stand it — I mean the full inrush of that splendor. Last summer I saw Moscow, in some respects the most splendid city under the sun. The Emperor afterward asked me if I had seen it, for Moscow is the pride of Russia. I told him yes, and that I had seen Moscow burn. I will tell you what I meant. After examining nine hundred brass cannons which were picked out of the snow after Napoleon retreated from Moscow, each cannon deep cut with the letter "N," I ascended a tower of some two hundred and fifty feet, just before sunset, and on each platform there were bells, large and small, and I climbed up among the bells, and then as I reached the top, all the bells underneath me began to ring, and they were joined by the bells of fourteen hundred towers and domes and turrets. Some of the bells sent out a faint tinkle of sound, a sweet tintinnabulation that seemed a bubbling of the air, and others thundered forth boom after boom, boom after boom, until it seemed to shake the earth and fill the heavens — sounds so weird, so sweet, so awful, so grand, so charming, so tremendous, so soft, so rippling, so reverberating — and they seemed to wreathe and whirl and rise and sink and burst and roll and mount and die. When Napoleon saw Moscow burn, it could not have been more brilliant than when I saw the fourteen hundred turrets aflame with the sunset; and there were roofs of gold, and walls of malachite, and pillars of porphyry, and balustrades of mosaic, and architecture of all colors mingling the brown of autumnal forests and the blue of summer heavens, and the conflagration of morning skies, and the emerald of rich grass, and the foam of tossing seas. The mingling of so many sounds was an entrancement almost too much for human nerves and human eyes and human ears. I expect

to see nothing to equal it until you and I see Heaven. But that will surpass it and make the memory of what I saw that July evening in Moscow almost tame and insipid. All Heaven aglow and all Heaven a-ring, not in the sunset, but in the sunrise. Voices of our own kindred mingling with the doxologies of empires. Organs of eternal worship responding to the trumpets that have wakened the dead. Nations in white. Centuries in coronation. Anthems like the voice of many waters. Circle of martyrs. Circle of apostles. Circle of prophets. Thrones of cherubim. Thrones of seraphim. Throne of archangel. Throne of Christ. Throne of God. Thrones! Thrones! Thrones! The finger of God points that way. Stop not until you reach that place. Through the atoning Christ, all I speak of and more may be yours and mine. Do you not now hear the chime of the bells of that metropolis of the universe? Do you not see the shimmering of the towers? Good morning.

(Being part of a sermon.)

Sowing and Reaping.

By JOHN B. GOUGH, of Pennsylvania.

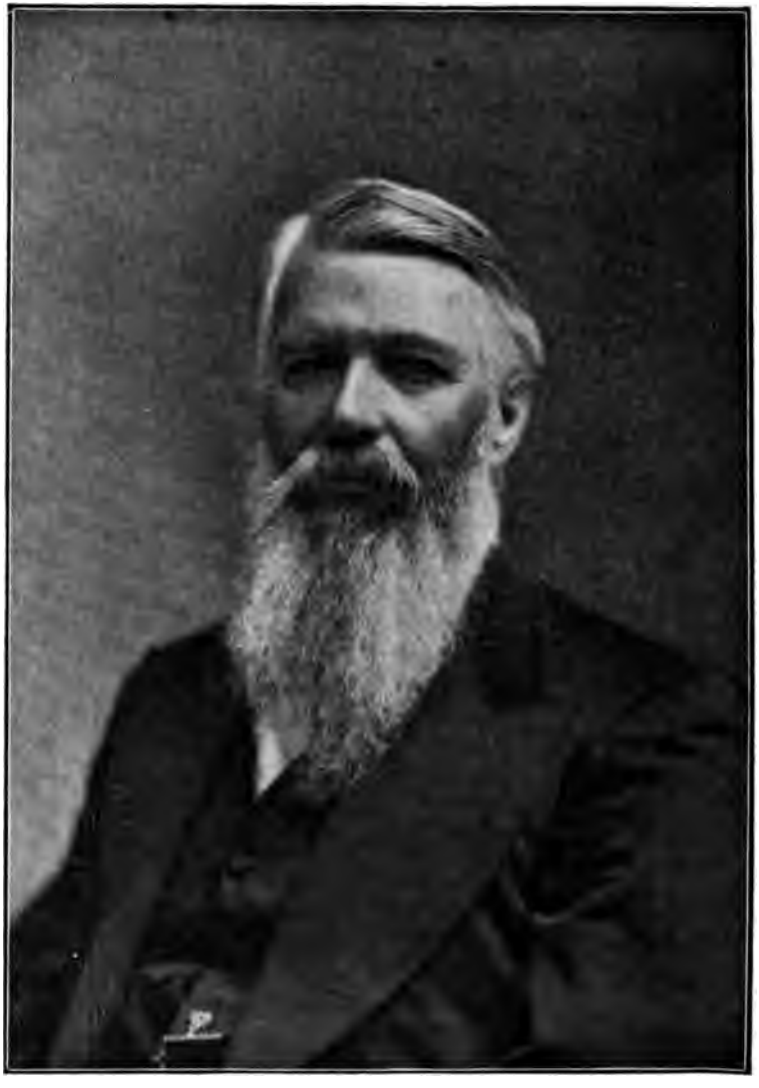
(Born 1817, died 1886.)

NE favorite argument of young men in reference to the use of intoxicating drink is, "When I find out that it is doing me an injury, then I will give it up." That is making an admission and coming to a conclusion. The admission is true; the conclusion is false. You admit it may injure you, and when it *has* — no; there would be some sense in that; but when you *find out* that it has injured you, then you will quit it. You won't use such an argument in reference to any other matter. "I will put my hand into the den of a rattlesnake, and when *I find out* that he has stuck his fangs into me I will draw it out and get it cured as quickly as possible." There is no common sense in that.

Young men, beware of this thing, because it is a snare. It is fearfully deceptive. Every man who drinks intends to be a moderate drinker. I have said this over and over again, because I believe it to be important. Every man who becomes intemperate does so by a course of argument from the beginning all the way down to ruin. Young men, you say, "*When I find out that it is injuring me, then I will give it up.*" Is that sensible?

I once heard of a pilot who said he could pilot a vessel into Boston harbor. "Now," said the captain, "I'll stand 'midships, and you can take the helm. I know every rock in this channel — every one of 'em — I know 'm all and I'll give you warning." By and by the vessel struck upon a rock, and the shock threw everybody down upon the deck. The poor pilot got up, rubbing himself, and said, "Captain, there's one of 'em."

Now, we say to young men, "There's one of them. Hard up your helm before you strike!" That is sensible. If you *have* struck, haul off and repair damages, and then strike again. Is *that* sensible? In time the poor old battered hulk will not bear any more damages, and men will bury you, a broken wreck. That is the end of it, in many cases. "*When I find out that it is injuring me, then I will give it up.*" Gather all the drunkards of this country together, and ask them, every one, "*Are you drinking enough to injure you?*" A large



JOHN B. GOUGH.

proportion will declare that they are not. Each one of them has become a drunkard in the sight of God and man before he has become one in his own estimation.

Intoxicating drink is deceptive in its very nature. It reminds me of the fable of the serpent in a circle of fire. A man was passing by, and the snake said to him, "Help me out of my difficulty." "If I do, you'll bite me." "Oh, no, I won't." "I'm afraid to trust you." "Help me out of the fire, or it will consume me, and I promise on my word of honor I won't bite you." The man took the snake out of the fire, and threw it on the ground. Instantly the serpent said, "Now I'll bite you." "But didn't you promise me you wouldn't?" "Yes; but don't you know *it's my nature to bite*, and I cannot help it." So it is with the drink. It is its nature to bite; it is its nature to deceive.

Young men say (and I have heard them more than once) that they "must sow their wild oats." Remember this, young gentlemen, "Whatsoever a man soweth, that shall he also reap." If you sow corn, you reap corn. If you sow weeds, you reap weeds. If you sow to the flesh, you will of the flesh reap corruption. But if you sow to the spirit, you will of the spirit reap life everlasting. Ah, young men, look at *that* reaping, and then contemplate the awful reaping of men to-day who are reaping as they have sown, in bitterness of spirit and anguish of soul. "*When I find out that it is injuring me,* THEN *I will give it up.*"

Surely, that is not common sense. Such is the fascination thrown around a man by the power of this habit, that it must have essentially injured him before he will acknowledge the hurt and consent to give it up. Many a man has been struck down in his prosperity, has been sent to prison for crime, before he acknowledged that his evil habit was injuring him. I remember riding from Buffalo to Niagara Falls, and I said to a gentleman, "What river is that, sir?" "That," he said, "is Niagara river." "It is a beautiful stream," said I, "bright, smooth, and glassy; how far off are the rapids?" "Only a few miles," was the reply. "Is it possible that only a few miles from us we shall find the water in the turbulence which it must show when near the rapids?" "You will find it so, sir." And so I found it, and that first sight of Niagara Falls I shall never forget. Now, launch your bark on that river; the water is smooth, beautiful, and glassy. There is a ripple at the bow of your boat, and the silvery wake it leaves behind adds to your enjoyment. You set out on your pleasure excursion. Down the stream you glide; oars, sails, and helm in proper trim. Suddenly someone cries out from the bank, "Young men, ahoy!" "What is it?" "The rapids are below you." "Ha, ha! we have heard of the rapids, but we are not such fools as to get into them. When we find we are going too fast, then

we shall up with the helm and steer for the shore; we will set the mast in the socket, hoist the sail, and speed to land. Then on, boys, don't be alarmed; there's no danger." "Young men, ahoy there!" "What is it?" "The rapids are below you." "Ha, ha! we will laugh and quaff; all things delight us. What care we for the future? No man ever saw it. Sufficient for the day is the evil thereof. We will enjoy life while we may; we will catch pleasure as it flies. This is enjoyment; time enough to steer out of danger when we are sailing too swiftly with the current." "Young men, ahoy!" "What is it?" "Beware, beware! the rapids are below you." Now you feel them! See the water foaming all around! See how fast you pass that point! Up with the helm! Now turn! Pull hard; quick, quick! Pull for your lives! Pull till the blood starts from the nostrils and the veins stand like whipcord upon the brow. Set the mast in the socket; hoist the sail! Ah, ah, it is too late; faster and faster you near the awful cataract, and then, shrieking, cursing, howling, praying, over you go. Thousands launch their barks in smooth water and realize no danger till on the verge of ruin, boasting all the while to the last, "When I find out that it is injuring me, then I will give it up." The power of this habit, I repeat, is fascinating, is deceptive, and men may go on arguing and coming to conclusions while on the way down to destruction.

People do not act with common sense in this matter as they do in others. I read of a Yankee who went into an apothecary's shop in Boston.

"Be you a drugger?" he asked.

"I am an apothecary, and I sell drugs."

"Well, have you got any of this 'ere scentin' stuff that gals put on their handkerchiefs?"

"Yes; I have."

"Well, my sister Sal gave me ninepence, and told me to invest the whole amount in jest sich truck if I could get anything to suit; and I should like to smell round if you have no objection."

"Certainly not," said the chemist, "here is some essence of peppermint."

"O, that's royal," said the man.

"Here is some essence of lemon."

"That's royaller."

At last the apothecary took some strong spirits of hartshorn. "This," said he, "is a very subtle essence, and if you want to get the full virtue of it, the pure scent, you must draw in as hard as you can; a simple sniff will do no good."

"Hold on a minute," said the man, "till I git ready, and when I say, 'Now,' you let her rip." Then he shouted, "Now," and over he went. What did he do? Did he get up and smell again? No; he had too much common sense;

as soon as he got on his feet he squared his arms and began to show fight, saying, "If you make me smell that 'tarnal everlastin' stuff again, I'll make you smell fire and brimstone." There was some common sense in that. Yet, in the matter of drinking, men go up to their old enemy and he knocks them over; up they get, and over they go again; and so it continues until they have hardly strength enough to get down on their hands and knees to kiss the foot of their foe, who with the next spurn sends the poor shrieking spirit into eternity, infatuated by the influence of drink. Yet men boast that they will not "sign away their privileges."

To return for a minute to the argument, "I can let it alone when I please." Suppose I lie upon the railway track; someone cries out to me, "Get up, get up; the train is coming." "You mind your own business; I'm not fool enough to be run over, am I? I can get up when I've a mind to, and I can lie here as long as I please, can't I?" I boast of a power I positively possess, but I have no will to exercise the power, and the train comes thundering on and cuts me in two. What am I? I am a self-murderer. I had the power; I had the warning; I refused to exercise this power; and, when swift destruction came, the power was taken from me. Every man that dies a drunkard dies a suicide. He had the power to escape, and he had the warning; there is not a man who dares to say, "I have had no warning." Stop one moment; stop and listen; you can hear the shrieks that come up from the vortex,— shrieks, piercing shrieks of despair from those who are sinking to rise no more. Your whole way is lined with spectres that are pointing to the future of those who heedlessly argue their way down the fatal sliding scale. Therefore, every man who dies a drunkard, dies a suicide. * * *

(Being part of a temperance address.)

The Moderate Drinker.

By JOHN B. GOUGH, of Pennsylvania.

(Born 1817, died 1886.)

TO moderate drinkers we appeal for help. We do not abuse you. We do not tell you that you are worse than the drunkard, and all that sort of thing; and we do not desire to deprive you of a gratification with no reason but our own whim. But we can ask you to give it up, making no demand upon you except in the name of our common humanity. But some persons find fault with us, and tell us we are unjust in endeavoring to deprive moderate drinkers of that which is a lawful gratification.

A lady friend of mine, who never offers wine, gave a dinner-party at which were some literary gentlemen. One LL.D. said to her, "Mrs. So-and-so, I think you do me, and such as I am, an injustice." "How so?" "Well, you know I drink a glass of wine at my dinner. I am accustomed to it. I don't think it ever hurt me. It does me good. I am fond of it. You say to me when I come to your house, 'Now, doctor, I shall give you no wine, because a bad use is made of it by some, and here is a person who, if he drinks it, injures himself.' You take from me an innocent gratification, at the least, and that which I am used to, and which I miss if I do not obtain, because somebody makes a fool of himself; and because somebody can't drink without being injured, you say I shall have none. Now is that fair? By-and-by you will take from us all our little luxuries, and there is no knowing where these encroachments will end. Now I like a little bit of cheese after my dinner; I think it promotes digestion. Now suppose you say, 'Doctor, here is a man who cannot eat cheese with impunity; I shall give you no cheese; I will not give a particle of cheese to my guests, because some people eat cheese to their detriment.' Is that fair?"

I ask any intelligent person if that is a fair way of putting it? Did you ever hear of a man on the scaffold, about to be hung, saying to those who came to witness this execution, "Take warning by me, and never eat cheese?" Did you ever hear of a man murdering his wife, and giving as his excuse that he had been eating cheese? Was there ever a row in the streets, ribs broken, and blood shed, which the newspapers next morning stated was because these men had

been eating cheese? Did you ever hear a mother mourn over the dead body of her child, crying, "Would I had died for thee, O, my son! I have no hope in his death; he died from eating cheese?" All I have to say is just this: Prove to me that the use of cheese produces the same results as does the use of drink, and, by the grace of God, I will fight the cheese as heartily as I do the drink. I consider it the height of stupidity and nonsense to bring such an argument as that against us while we are advocating the disuse of intoxicating liquor as a beverage. We do not seek to take it away from you by force; we want you to be made so far acquainted with the evils of drink that, with your heart and soul, and in the exercise of large-hearted, self-denying benevolence, you will give it up *for the sake of others*. That is the grand principle on which we base our appeal, and it is the highest principle.

Some say, however, "You will certainly let us have a little as a medicine." Yes, certainly we will; we do not condemn it as a medicine; that is, when men really take it as such. I was once at a dinner-party when a gentleman at table, holding a glass in his hand, said to a lady present, "I assure your ladyship I am personally an abstainer, and am opposed"—and he swallowed the wine—"to the drinking usages of society; but I take wine by the prescription of my medical man." I thought I would see how much medicine he took, and before the meat was brought on he drank three glasses of sherry. I did not wonder, then, that people lay in their medicine a pipe at a time, or by so many dozen bottles. I believe a great deal of this medicine-taking is rank, sheer hypocrisy. It may not be in your case, but, I believe it is in the majority of cases.

A gentleman said to me, "Ah, if you go on the continent you ought, at your age, to take a little wine—the water is doubtful." They told me so when I went to California; and they told me so when I went to Montreal. I said, "I don't think I need it." "But I think you do." "Well, look at me. I am sixty-one years of age. I have delivered seven thousand eight hundred addresses on the subject of temperance, and on other topics. I have traveled four hundred and twenty thousand miles, and I have not been in bed a whole day from illness since 1846." That is how I have managed on cold water without the aid of stimulants. I think there are some doctors who prescribe wine because they like to take a little medicine with their patients when they call. I think some prescribe it because they believe it to be necessary, and I rather guess that the physician who prescribed it for a very dear friend of mine was one of that sort. When my friend was in London, he consulted a physician, who said, "You ought to take a little champagne." "Why?" he asked. "Well, you are very tall, and you are very bald, and the top of your head is necessarily cold, and you need some stimulants to send the blood over the top of your head." I

suppose he believed it to be necessary. Some prescribe it because they do not know anything about it. * * *

"Ah, but," say some, "there is enjoyment and gratification in it." So there is; I have experienced that myself. I have felt it thrilling to the tips of my fingers with a new, strange, delightfully exhilarating sensation. I have been in a clubroom when the wine has passed from one to the other, and we have felt ourselves great men presently, with plenty of money in our pockets when we really had hardly enough to pay our board-bill.

One man said to another, "Look here, if you want to borrow a thousand dollars in your business, come down to my office and I shall be very happy to lend it you." The man thought he could use a thousand dollars admirably, and he went to his friend the next morning and said, "You told me if I came to your office, you could let me have a thousand dollars to use in my business." "Did I?" "Yes." "Well, I haven't got it now, but I may have it by night." I heard once of a man who, in a wretched, dilapidated condition, was looking at the launch of a ship. Some of the owners held a consultation, and thought the ship had better remain on the stocks two or three days longer. One of them said, "I should be unwilling to take the responsibility of it." This poor, miserable fellow came up, with his trousers shining with old age, boots broken, and hat battered, and said: "Let her slide, *I will take the responsibility.*" Yes, there is a gratification, an exhilaration, an excitement produced by the drink. Any mistakes in the Cabinet, send for one of us; we will reconcile all questions to the satisfaction of all parties, foreign nations included. When we were half drunk, beautiful visions passed before us, and we only wanted the canvas and the pencil to immortalize ourselves. There is a gratification in drinking. What is it? It is the gratification of intoxication.

Men talk about enjoyment in drinking! There is really none. It is merely momentary and imaginary. No man ever received satisfaction enough in wicked pursuits to say, "Ah, now I am happy!" It is gone from him. All the enjoyments that can be obtained in this world, apart from the enjoyments God has sanctioned, lead to destruction. It is as if a man should start in a chase after a bubble, attracted by its bright and gorgeous hues. It leads him through vineyards, under trellised vines with grapes hanging in all their purpled glory; it leads him past sparkling fountains, amid the music of singing birds; it leads him through orchards hanging thick with golden fruit. He laughs and dances. It is a merry chase. By and by that excitement becomes intense, that intensity becomes a passion, that passion a disease. Now his eye is fixed upon the bubble with fretful earnestness. Now he leaps with desperation and disappointment. Now it leads him away from all that is bright and beautiful, from all the tender,

clustering, hallowed associations of bygone days, up the steep hot sides of a fearful volcano. Now there is pain and anguish in the chase. He leaps and falls, and rises, bruised, scorched, and blistered; but the excitement has the mastery over him; he forgets all that is past, and in his terrible chase he leaps again. It is gone! He curses, and bites his lips in agony, and shrieks almost the wild shriek of despair. Yet still he pursues his prize. He must secure it. Knee-deep in the hot ashes, he falls, then up again with limbs torn and bruised, the last semblance of humanity scorched out of him. Yet there is his prize! He will have it. With one desperate effort he makes a sudden leap. Ah, he has it now; but he has leaped into the volcano, and, with a burst bubble in his hand, goes to his retribution. Heaven pity every man who follows, and is fascinated by, an enjoyment God has not sanctioned. The result of all God's good gifts to him is a burst bubble! An Indian chief bartered away costly diamonds for a few glass beads and a plated button. Young men are every day bartering away jewels worth all the kingdoms of the earth for less than a plated button, for that which vanishes in their eager grasp.

Enjoyment! We have wonderful capacities for enjoyment and wonderful sources of enjoyment. But I have come to this conclusion, young men, that there is no enjoyment worth having for which you cannot thank God. None! And if you can get drunk, and then thank God for it the next morning, then I have nothing more to say to you. We have sources of enjoyment all around us and beneath us and above us and everywhere. I remember a lady asking me once, in Cincinnati, if I would go and hear Werner play. Now I am exceedingly fond of music, and he is an admirable musician. We went to his room, and he said he would play for me on Wednesday afternoon as long as I chose to listen. O, those wild, weird, wailing discords of Chopin, resolved into such wonderful harmony! All I could say was, like Oliver Twist, "More, more," and he gave me more for nearly two hours. And then he stood up, twisting his fingers, and said, "You fill me full of music; you are such a grand listener; I will give you a sonata from Beethoven." When I went out I said to the lady who accompanied me, "I thank God for such a capacity for enjoyment." *There* is something to be thankful for.

Stand with me on the summit of the Breven. Yonder are the white ridges of the Vaudois and Bernese Alps. Behind us, Sallenche with its bridge; before us, hoary-headed Mont Blanc, the monarch of the Alps; there, the Dôme du Gôuté, the Aiguille du Dru, the Mer de Glace, the Glacier d'Argentiere, the Glacier des Bossons, the Glacier de Taconnay, and Chamouni, like a nest of ant-hills at our feet. The Arveyron, rushing from the Mer de Glace, joins the Arve, and, like a silver ribbon, winds through the valley. How deeply, darkly,

beautifully blue the sky! How clear the atmosphere! Hark! Is that distant thunder? No; it is the ice cracking, miles away in yonder glacier. Listen. It is the soft sound of falling water, sweetly breaking the hush and stillness of nature in repose. How grand, how sublime, how awful! Your eyes fill with tears, your nerves quiver, your heart thrills, and your whole soul seems to be absorbed by the wonderful grandeur and sublimity and beauty. And you thank God that you are created with such a capacity for enjoyment, and with such sources of gratification all around you and about you and above you, worthy of a God to give to man, and of man to receive reverently from his Maker.

And that one fact of a little temporary gratification is all that you can bring in favor of the drink! Why, if there was no gratification, there would be no danger. It is the gratification to a man of nervous susceptibility that constitutes the danger. The gratification produced by the action of drink on the brain and nervous system, in whatever phase it may present itself to you, is always harmful; whether you are very jolly, or whether you are outrageously merry, or whether you are sullen and surly, it makes very little difference. It is no more degrading to be brutally drunk than it is to be sillily drunk, and have a whole city laughing at you. The *very fact of intoxication* is debasing and degrading to the man, whether you get enjoyment from it, or whether it brings upon you the horrors of *delirium tremens*. God speed the day when our dear country shall be freed from the agencies that tend to promote and perpetuate this great evil.

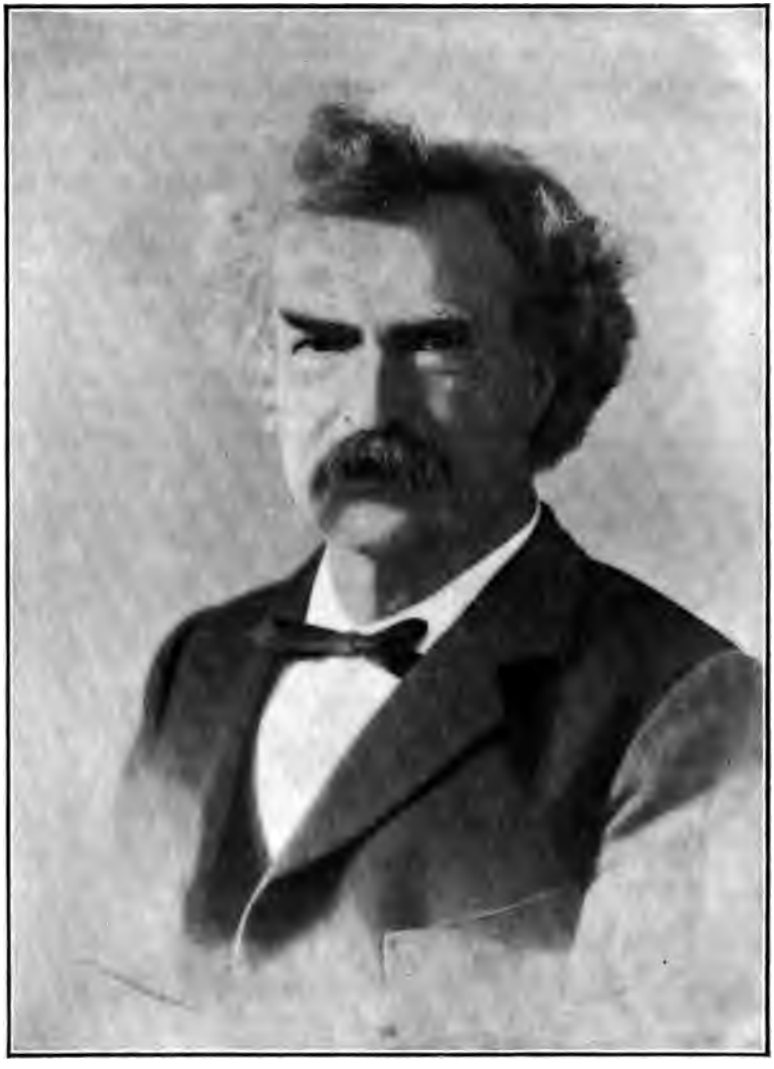
(Being part of an address on the subject of temperance.)

The Discounts of an Author.

By SAMUEL L. CLEMENS (MARK TWAIN), of Connecticut.

(Born 1835.)

AFTER Henry George had presented Joseph Jefferson and the actor had responded briefly but brightly, Mr. Young introduced Mark Twain. It has frequently been said and is generally believed that Twain never speaks in public without careful preparation, in order that his reputation as a humorist may not be jeopardized. That this is not true in this instance, however, was shown by the fact that he talked about occurrences of the evening and kept his hearers continually laughing. "I have often wondered," he said, in his familiar, long drawl, "how after-dinner talkers such as we have heard to-night manage to make such clever impromptu speeches." My impromptu speeches are all carefully prepared in advance, but I can't understand how these other fellows manage the thing. Now, there is Dougherty; he gets up with all the confidence which is generally inspired by the preparation of a month and he talks just as nicely and smoothly as though he had never thought about the matter before. When he comes to a place to heave in poetry he heaves her in and when it is time for a story it comes right out. I am not so much surprised about Depew. He once asked me how I managed my impromptu speeches and I told him. I taught him the art and I sometimes wish I hadn't. Henry George appears to have a faucet concealed somewhere about him, and he just turns it on and out the stuff flows. There has been a great deal of war talk here to-night and I don't appear to have been considered in it. I was in the Confederate Army. I was in it for two weeks. If Pryor had to fight through the whole war to get a position as judge, I suppose that, considering the difference in our abilities, if I had fought four weeks I would have been made President, and if I had fought six weeks the war would have been ended. I am not much of a talker upon this kind of an occasion. You ought to allow me a discount. A few days ago I called at the office of George Putnam, the publisher. I was met by a very severe-looking clerk, who told me that Mr. Putnam wasn't in. I knew that wasn't true, but I didn't blame the young man, for I don't think he liked the look of my clothes; but I thought,



SAMUEL L. CLEMENS (MARK TWAIN).

as long as I had paid him a visit, I would do some business with him, and I said I wanted to buy a book — a book of travel, or something of that kind — and he handed me a volume which he said would cost three dollars. I said to him: "I am a publisher myself, and I suppose you allow the usual publisher's discount of 60 per cent." The young man looked absent-minded, but said nothing. Then I remarked: "I am also an author, and I suppose you allow the usual author's discount of thirty per cent." The young man looked pale. I addressed him further: "I also belong to the human race, and I suppose you allow the usual discount to the human race of ten per cent." The young man said nothing, but he took a pencil from behind his ear and made an arithmetical calculation and remarked: "After adding to that five per cent. discount for natural shyness, I find that the firm owes you fifteen cents." So, gentlemen, if you allow me on my impromptu speech all the discounts which are properly due me I think you will find that besides this dinner you are indebted to me about fifteen cents, and I hope the hat will be passed around and the amount collected.

(Being an address at a banquet of ex-Confederate and Union soldiers in New York city, October 12, 1890.)

Reply to Mr. Sumner.

By STEPHEN ARNOLD DOUGLAS, of Illinois.

(Born 1813, died 1861.)

SHALL not detain the Senate by a detailed reply to the speech of the Senator from Massachusetts. Indeed, I should not deem it necessary to say one word, but for the personalities in which he has indulged, evincing a depth of malignity that issued from every sentence, making it a matter of self-respect with me to repel the assaults which have been made.

As to the argument, we have heard it all before. Not a position, not a fact, not an argument has he used, which has not been employed on the same side of the chamber, and replied to by me twice. I shall not follow him, therefore, because it would only be repeating the same answer which I have twice before given to each of his positions. He seems to get up a speech as in Yankee land they get up a bedquilt. They take all the old calico dresses of various colors, that have been in the house from the days of their grandmothers, and invite the young ladies of the neighborhood in the afternoon and the young men to meet them at a dance in the evening. They cut up these pieces of old dresses and make pretty figures, and boast of what beautiful ornamental work they have made, although there was not a new piece of material in the whole quilt. Thus it is with the speech which we have had rehashed here to-day, in regard to matters of fact, matters of law, and matters of argument — everything but the personal assaults and the malignity. * * *

His endeavor seems to be an attempt to whistle to keep up his courage by defiant assaults upon us all. I am in doubt as to what can be his object. He has not hesitated to charge three-fourths of the Senate with fraud, with swindling, with crime, with infamy, at least one hundred times over in his speech. Is it his object to provoke some of us to kick him as we would a dog in the street, that he may get sympathy upon the just chastisement? What is the object of this denunciation against the body of which we are members? A hundred times he has called the Nebraska bill a "swindle," an act of crime, an act of infamy, and each time went on to illustrate the complicity of each man

who voted for it in perpetrating the crime. He has brought it home as a personal charge to those who passed the Nebraska bill, that they were guilty of a crime which deserved the just indignation of Heaven, and should make them infamous among men.

Who are the Senators thus arraigned? He does me the honor to make me the chief. It was my good luck to have such a position in this body as to enable me to be the author of a great, wise measure, which the Senate has approved, and the country will indorse. That measure was sustained by about three-fourths of all the members of the Senate. It was sustained by a majority of the Democrats and a majority of the Whigs in this body. It was sustained by a majority of Senators from the slave-holding States, and a majority of Senators from the free States. The Senator, by his charge of crime, then, stultifies three-fourths of the whole body, a majority of the North, nearly the whole South, a majority of Whigs, and a majority of Democrats here. He says they are infamous. If he so believed, who could suppose that he would ever show his face among such a body of men? How dare he approach one of those gentlemen to give him his hand after that act? If he felt the courtesies between men he would not do it. He would deserve to have himself spit in the face for doing so. * * *

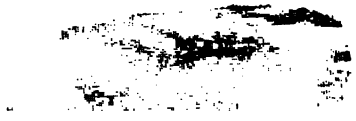
The attack of the Senator from Massachusetts now is not on me alone. Even the courteous and the accomplished Senator from South Carolina (Mr. Butler) could not be passed by in his absence.

Mr. MASON.—Advantage was taken of it.

Mr. DOUGLAS.— It is suggested that advantage is taken of his absence. I think that this is a mistake. I think the speech was written and practiced, and the gestures fixed; and, if that part had been stricken out, the Senator would not have known how to repeat the speech. All that tirade of abuse must be brought down on the head of the venerable, the courteous, and the distinguished Senator from South Carolina. I shall not defend that gentleman here. Every Senator who knows him loves him. The Senator from Massachusetts may take every charge made against him in his speech, and may verify by his oath, and by the oath of every one of his confederates, and there is not an honest man in this chamber who will not repel it as a slander. Your oaths cannot make a Senator feel that it was not an outrage to assail that honorable gentleman in the terms in which he has been attacked. He, however, will be here in due time to speak for himself, and to act for himself too. I know what will happen. The Senator from Massachusetts will go to him, whisper a secret apology in his ear, and ask him to accept that as satisfaction for a public outrage on his character! I know the Senator from Massachusetts is in the habit of doing those things. I have had some experience of his skill in that respect. * * *

Why these attacks on individuals by name, and two-thirds of the Senate collectively? Is it the object to drive men here to dissolve social relations with political opponents? Is it to turn the Senate into a bear garden, where Senators cannot associate on terms which ought to prevail between gentlemen? These attacks are heaped upon me by man after man. When I repel them, it is intimated that I show some feeling on the subject. Sir, God grant that when I denounce an act of infamy I shall do it with feeling, and do it under the sudden impulses of feeling, instead of sitting up at night writing out my denunciation of a man whom I hate, copying it, having it printed, punctuating the proof-sheets, and repeating it before the glass, in order to give refinement to insult, which is only pardonable when it is the outburst of a just indignation.

(Delivered in the United States Senate, May 20, 1856.)



GEORGE WASHINGTON.

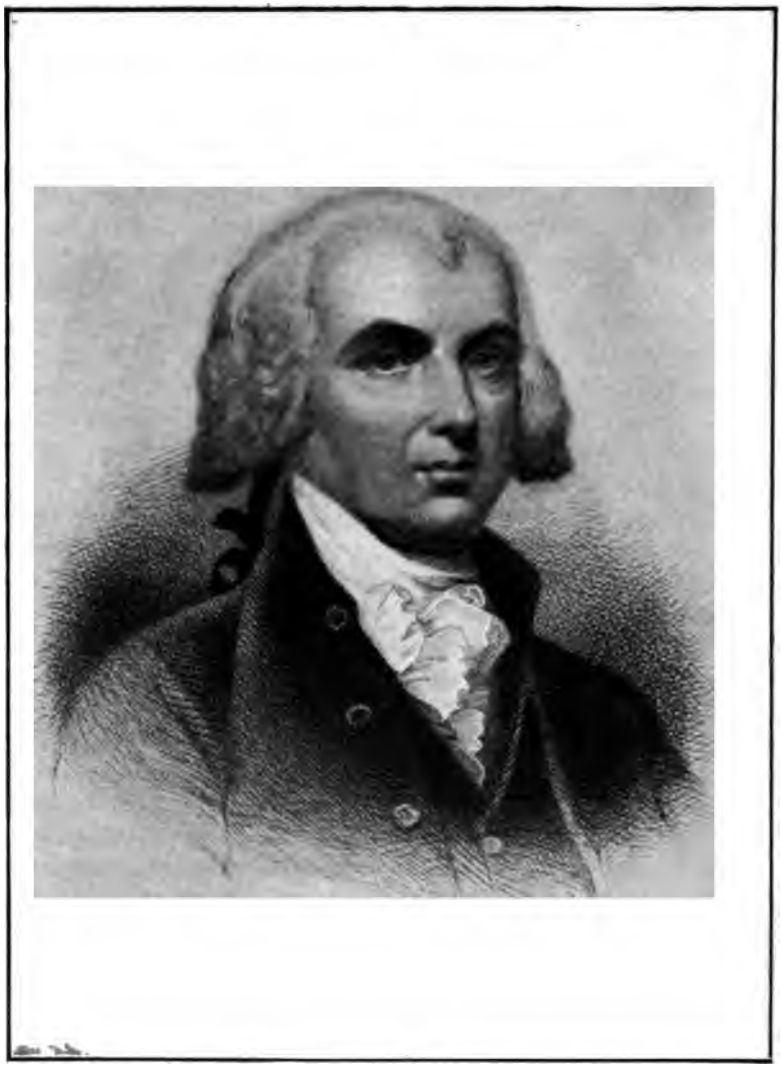
Party Spirit.

By GEORGE WASHINGTON, of Virginia.

(Born 1732, died 1799.)

THERE is an opinion that parties in free countries are useful checks upon the administration of the government, and serve to keep alive the spirit of liberty. This, within certain limits, is probably true; and in governments of a monarchical cast, patriotism may look with indulgence, if not with favor, upon the spirit of party. But in those of the popular character, in governments purely elective, it is a spirit not to be encouraged. From their natural tendency, it is certain there will always be enough of that spirit for every salutary purpose; and, there being constant danger of excess, the effort ought to be, by force of public opinion, to mitigate and assuage it. A fire not to be quenched, it demands a uniform vigilance to prevent its bursting into a flame, lest, instead of warming, it should consume.

It is important, likewise, that the habits of thinking in a free country should inspire caution in those intrusted with its administration to confine themselves within their respective constitutional spheres, avoiding in the exercise of their powers of one department to encroach upon another. The spirit of encroachment tends to consolidate the powers of the departments in one, and thus to create, whatever the form of government, a real despotism. A just estimate of that love of power, and proneness to abuse it, which predominates in the human heart, is sufficient to satisfy us of the truth of this position. The necessity of reciprocal checks in the exercise of political power, by dividing and distributing it into different dispositions, and constituting each the guardian of the public weal against invasions by others, has been evinced by experiments ancient and modern, some of them in our own country and under our own eyes. To preserve them must be as necessary as to institute them. If, in the opinion of the people, the distribution or modification of the constitutional powers be in any particular wrong, let it be corrected by an amendment in a way which the Constitution designates. But let there be no change by usurpation; for though this, in one instance, may be the instrument of good, it is the customary weapon by which free governments are destroyed. The precedent must always greatly overbalance in permanent evil any partial or transient benefit which the use can at any time yield.



JAMES MADISON.

The Republican Experiment.

By JAMES MADISON, of Virginia.

(Born 1751, died 1836.)

EARKEN not to the unnatural voice which tells you that the people of America, knit together as they are by so many cords of affection, can no longer live together as members of the same family; can no longer continue the mutual guardians of their mutual happiness; can no longer be fellow citizens of one great respectable, and flourishing empire. Hearken not to the voice which petulantly tells you that the form of government recommended for your adoption is a novelty in the political world; that it has never yet had a place in the theories of the wildest projectors; that it rashly attempts what it is impossible to accomplish. No, my countrymen: shut your ears against this unhallowed language. Shut your hearts against the poison which it conveys. The kindred blood which flows in the veins of American citizens, the mingled blood which they have shed in defense of their sacred rights, consecrate their union, and excite horror at the idea of their becoming aliens, rivals, enemies. And if novelties are to be shunned, believe me, the most alarming of all novelties, the most wild of all projects, the most rash of all attempts, is that of rending us in pieces, in order to preserve our liberties, and promote our happiness. But why is the experiment of an extended republic to be rejected, merely because it may comprise what is new? Is it not the glory of the people of America, that whilst they have paid a decent regard to the opinions of former times and other nations, they have not suffered a blind veneration for antiquity, for custom, or for names, to overrule the suggestions of their own good sense, the knowledge of their own situation, and the lessons of their own experience? To this manly spirit posterity will be indebted for the possession, and the world for the example, of the numerous innovations displayed on the American theater, in favor of private rights and public happiness.

An Author's Soldiering.

By SAMUEL L. CLEMENS (MARK TWAIN), of Connecticut.
(Born 1835.)

YOU Union veterans of Maryland have prepared your feast and offered to me, a rebel veteran of Missouri, the wound-healing bread and salt of a gracious hospitality. Do you realize all the vast significance of the situation? Do you sense the whole magnitude of this conjunction, and perceive with what opulence of blessing for this nation it is freighted? What is it we are doing? Reflect! Upon this stage to-night we play the closing scene of the mightiest drama of modern times, and ring down, for good and all, the curtain raised at Sumter six-and-twenty years ago. The two grand divisions of the nation, which we name in general terms the North and the South, have shaken hands long ago, and given and taken the kiss of peace. Was anything lacking to make the reconciliation perfect, the fusion of feeling complete? Yes. The great border States attached to those grand divisions, but belonging to neither of them, and independent of both, were silent; had made no forgiving sign to each other across the chasm left by the convulsion of war, and the world grieved that this was so. But to-night the Union veteran of Maryland clasps hands with the rebel veteran of Missouri, and the gap is closed. In this supreme moment the imperfect welding of the broken Union is perfected at last, and from this hour the seam of the joining shall no more be visible. The long tragedy is ended — ring down the curtain!

When your secretary invited me to this reunion of the Union Veterans of Maryland, he requested me to come prepared to clear up a matter which he said had long been a subject of dispute and bad blood in war circles in this country — to wit, the true dimensions of my military service in the Civil War, and the effect which they had upon the general result. I recognize the importance of this thing to history, and I have come prepared. Here are the details. I was IN THE CIVIL WAR TWO WEEKS.

In that brief time I rose from private to second lieutenant. The monumental feature of my campaign was the one battle which my command fought —

it was in the summer of '61. If I do say it, it was the bloodiest battle ever fought in human history; there is nothing approaching it for destruction of human life in the field, if you take in consideration the forces engaged, and the proportion of death to survival. And yet you do not even know the name of that battle. Neither do I. It had a name, but I have forgotten it. It is no use to keep private information which you can't show off. Now look at the way history does. It takes the battle of Boonville, fought near by, about the date of our slaughter and shouts its teeth loose over it, and yet never even mentions ours; doesn't even call it an "affair;" doesn't call it anything at all; never even heard of it. Whereas, what are the facts? Why, these: In the battle of Boonville there were two thousand men engaged on the Union side, and about as many on the other — supposed to be. The casualties, all told, were two men killed; and not all of these were killed outright, but only half of them, for the other man died in hospital next day. I know that, because his great-uncle was second cousin to my grandfather, who spoke three languages, and was perfectly honorable and upright, though he had warts all over him, and used to — but never mind about that, the facts are just as I say, and I can prove it. Two men killed in that battle of Boonville, that's the whole result. All the others got away — on both sides. Now then, in our battle there were just fifteen men engaged, on our side — all brigadier generals but me, and I was a second lieutenant. On the other side there was one man. He was a stranger. We killed him. It was night, and we thought he was an army of observation; he looked like an army of observation — in fact, he looked bigger than an army of observation would in the daytime; and some of us believed he was trying to surround us, and some thought he was going to try to turn our position, and so we shot him. Poor fellow, he probably wasn't an army of observation, after all; but that wasn't our fault; as I say, he had all the look of it in that dim light. It was a sorrowful circumstance, but he took the chances of war, and he drew the wrong card; he overestimated his fighting strength, and he suffered the likely result; but he fell as the brave should fall — with his face to the foe and feet to the field — so we buried him with the honors of war, and took his things. So began and ended the only battle in the history of the world where the opposing force WAS UTTERLY EXTERMINATED, swept from the face of the earth — to the last man. And yet, you don't know the name of that battle; you don't even know the name of that man. Now, then, for the argument. Suppose I had continued in the war, and gone on as I began, and exterminated the opposing force every time — every two weeks — where would your war have been? Why, you see yourself, the conflict would have been too one-sided. There was but one honorable course for me to pursue, and I pursued it. I withdrew to private life, and

gave the Union cause a chance. There, now, you have the whole thing in a nutshell; it was not my presence in the Civil War that determined that tremendous contest — it was my retirement from it that brought the crash. It left the Confederate side too weak. And yet, when I stop and think, I cannot regret my course. No, when I look abroad over this happy land, with its wounds healed and its enmities forgotten; this reunited sisterhood of majestic States; this freest of free commonwealths the sun in his course shines upon; this one sole country nameable in history or tradition where a man *is* a man and manhood the only royalty; this people ruled by the justest and wholesomest laws and government yet devised by the wisdom of men; this mightiest of the civilized empires of the earth, in numbers, in prosperity, in progress and in promise; and reflect that there is no North, no South any more, but that as in the old time, it is now and will remain forever, in the hearts and speech of Americans, our land, our country, our giant empire, and the flag floating in its firmament our flag, I would not wish it otherwise. No, when I look about me and contemplate these sublime results, I feel, deep down in my heart, that I acted for the best when I took my shoulder out from under the Confederacy and let it come down.

(Being an address delivered at the banquet of the Union Veterans in Baltimore.)

Rural Life in the East.

By IRVING BACHELLER, of New York.

(Born 1859.)

A REVOLUTION has been going on in the north of New England and New York the past decade. The homes of the farmers have been the scene of pathetic changes. I have heard much of the melancholy reverses that followed the war in the South; how the rich acres of the planter have become a squalid waste; how the negro dwells in the ruined mansion of his former master; how the country gentleman, with his horses and his hounds and all the splendid accessories of his social life, has abandoned his ancestral estate forever. But I tell you, gentlemen, there has been as great a change in the farms and firesides of the North. The sons of the Puritan, who settled in that stern climate, had simpler tastes and humbler homes than the sons of the Cavalier. Grace and reflection took the place of wine and wit at their tables, and the bread which they had earned in the sweat of the brow was often eaten in the sweat of the spirit. But who that has lived among them fails to remember their neat and hospitable homes, now going to decay. The house is shaky and unclean; the fence is half over, and no one cares to help it up or down; the stable is a ruin; the well sweep lies in the grass. The sons have scattered; the daughters have gone forth to the altar; the old folks have moved to town or cemetery; the farm has been sold and mortgaged and resold, and now it is the home of some new American who can accommodate his living to its diminished income. The present master of the house has no inconvenient burden of pride. He will live on what he cannot sell, and will prosper, while his predecessors would have gone to the wall. To understand the causes of this revolution, we must glance for a moment at the character of the men who, more than half a century ago, moved out of Vermont and settled the St. Lawrence Valley. They were the sons of the Puritans — a race of fighters, the like of which the world had never seen. Their forefathers had made the name of England terrible, and, coming to these inhospitable shores, routed the savage, and the forests fell before them as they turned their faces to the West Those who followed the star of empire to the mountain

barriers of Vermont were a set of rugged, daring pioneers — the hardiest of their race. They were the men of iron who fought at Bennington and Ticonderoga. They were the men of whom Burgoyne said, "Those Yankees don't know how to run." They were men who indulged in profanity and prayer — but their prayers were heartfelt and their profanity necessary. These men had some of the grace of God and the pride of the devil. It was an unconquerable pride of spirit that made them a thrifty people and a race of fighters who never fled before a foe. They did not suspect the existence of this affliction of pride. But, if I mistake not, it helped them win their successes in war, politics, and the schools, and it is that spirit which is driving the family from the farm because they can no longer maintain appearances on its income. Ships are bringing the impoverished hordes of every nation — men who can hold the plow and milk the cow as well as the Yankee, and have no need of pie. It matters not where he settles, whether east or west, his product reaches the same market, and his competition with the farmer of the St. Lawrence Valley is as direct as if he were in the same township. And it occurs to me that the Yankee farmer has but one hope before him, and it lies in the education of his children. I remember standing, last summer, in the ruins of my early home. The clapboards were falling from the house; the porch had sagged at one corner; some window-panes were missing, and the sash was stuffed with rags. The neat and cleanly fireside, hallowed by the merriment and mourning of those most dear to me, had come to evil days. The dooryard was a museum of rubbish. The pines that had whispered to my childish fancy in the hush of many a summer night were dying, and rank weeds nodded where the roses grew. A man stood on the piazza squinting at me. He was wearing one suspender and an ancient pair of trousers that probably *covered* the nakedness of his grandfather. His tongue had halted half-way between speech and expectoration. A smile filtered through his tangled beard. I recognized in him the seedy remnant of a once noble race.

"Hello!" said I.

"Hello!" said he, "who be you?"

I told him.

"Wouldn't a knowed ye," said he; "hitch in yer hoss."

"Can't," said I.

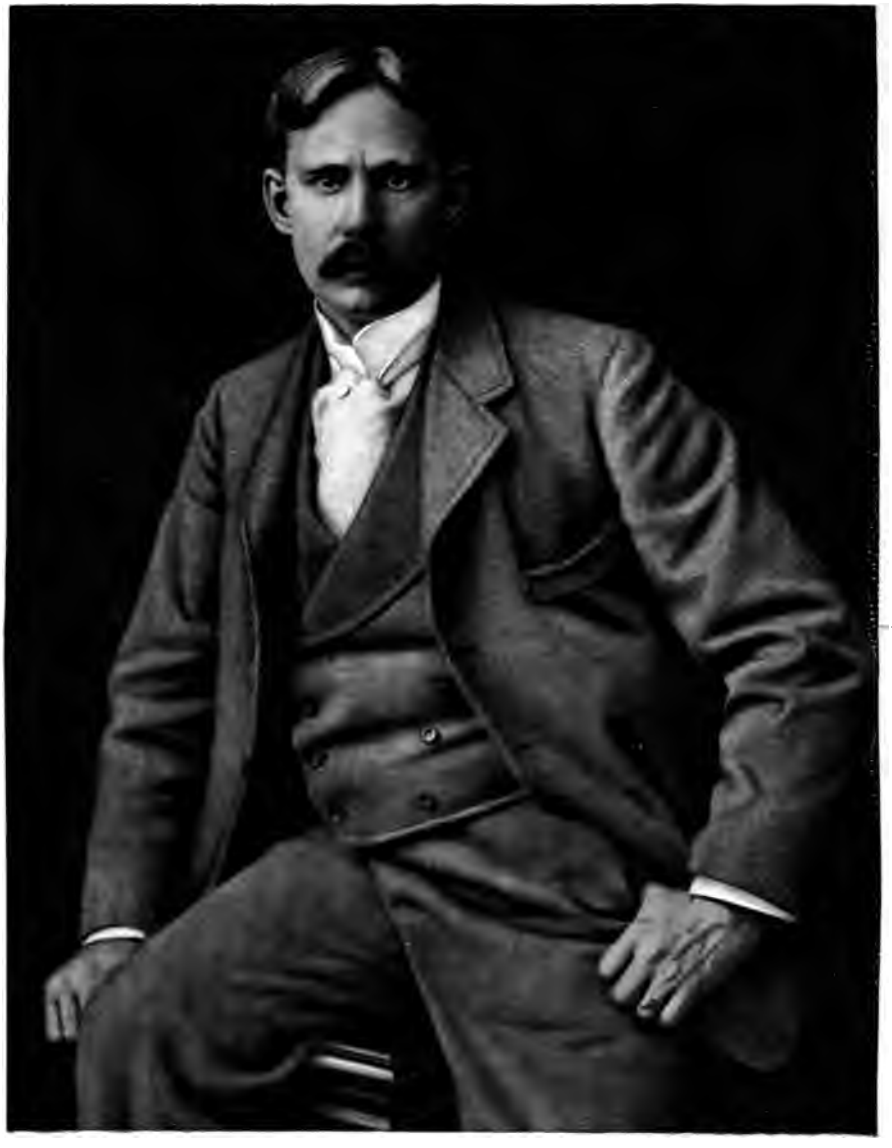
"They say ye've done noble down ther," said he.

"How've you done?" said I.

"Jus' livin'," said he.

"Suppose you can't raise anything but whiskers here, now," said I.

"No," said he; "farmin's played out."



IRVING BACHELLER.

"Quit it," said I.

"What'll I do," said he.

"Well," said I, "I should think you might die without trying very hard."

"Can't," said he.

"Why," said I.

"Morgidged," said he. "Wife an' children. I hain't no right to die. Everything's morgidged."

While we were talking, one of the old-school farmers drove in. He held a mortgage on the place that was dated some time in the forties, and every acre of the country side had been under bond to him for, lo, these many years. He began scolding me.

"If yer father had kept his boys here, this farm wouldn't a looked as it does now," said he.

"That's all right," said the tenant. "If he'd a stayed here, the farm would a looked better, but he'd looked a d——n sight worse."

When Alvinza Hayward returned to the home of his youth in Canton, after winning great wealth and distinction in California, there was a delegation to meet him at the depot. The spokesman of the party congratulated Mr. Hayward on his enterprise in leaving the farm, and that gentleman startled them by replying that he didn't have enterprise enough to stay.

The condition of things which I have tried to describe is one of vital interest to St. Lawrence University. In these days when mere brute strength goes begging for employment, a liberal education is the only hope of the sons of the Yankee. Every citizen of moderate means should take warning that unless he wishes his son to work in the ditch with an Italian, he must send him to college, not to school — that isn't enough in the competition of to-day — but to college. So many are stepping up to the higher planes of culture now, that nothing else will give him a fighting chance.

(From a speech delivered at a dinner to Prof. Walter B. Gunnison at the Hanover Club, Brooklyn, December 29, 1896.)

A White Life For Two.

By FRANCES E. WILLARD.

(Born 1839, died 1898.)

Supt. Social Purity Work, National W. C. T. U.

AMERICA may well be called "God's Country," a gracious Motherland that women well might live to serve or die to save. For in America, home questions have become the living issues of the time, and "Home Protection" is the battle cry of preachers, publicists, and politicians. The mighty war of words that culminated in the Presidential election of 1888, was waged on both sides in the interest of the home, but only on a materialistic money basis. The three questions that alone engross our people are the Temperance, the Labor, and the Woman Questions, and these three agree in one. Only by convincing Labor that a high tariff meant material protection for the home, was that election won; only by convincing wage-workers and women that the outlawing of the saloon means protection for those who dwell within the home, will Prohibition ever gain the day; only by convincing wage-workers and temperance voters that through equal suffrage women will help to protect both the external and the internal interests of the home, will the Woman Question ever be wrought out in Government. But beneath this trinity of issues is the fount from which they flow and that is Home itself, and back of Home is the one relationship that makes it possible. In view of this, I dare affirm that the reciprocal attraction of two natures, out of a thousand million, for each other, is the strongest, though one of the most unnoted proofs of a beneficent Creator. It is the fairest, sweetest Rose of Time, whose petals and whose perfume expand so far that we are all inclosed and sheltered in their tenderness and beauty. For, folded in its heart, we find the germ of every home; of those beatitudes, fatherhood and motherhood; the brotherly and sisterly affection, the passion of the patriot, the calm and steadfast love of the philanthropist. For the faithfulness of two, each to the other, alone makes possible the true home, the pure church, the righteous nation, the great, kind brotherhood of man.

The inmost instincts of each human spirit must cry out to God,

"Comfort our souls with Love,
Love of all human kind,
Love special, close, in which like sheltered dove
Each heart its own safe nest may find;
And Love that turns above adoringly, contented to resign
All loves if need be, for the love divine."

Marriage is not, as some surface-thinkers have endeavored to make out, an episode in man's life and an event in woman's. Sup your fill of horrors on the daily record of suicides by young men who are lovers, of sweethearts shot, and murdered wives, if you have ever fancied marriage to be the unequal thing that such phrasing indicates. Nay, it is the sum of earthly weal or woe to *both*. Doubtless there are in this modern land and age, almost as many noble men unmated because they had to be, as there are women. Because of a memory cherished, an estrangement unexplained, an ideal unrealized, a duty bravely met, many of the best men living go their way through life alone. Sometimes I think that of the two it is man who loves home best; for while woman is hedged into it by a thousand considerations of expediency and prejudice, he,

"With all the world before him where to choose,"

still chooses home freely and royally for her sake who is to him the world's supreme attraction.

The Past has bequeathed us no records more sublime than the heart-histories of Dante, of Petrarch, of Michael Angelo, and in our own time, of Washington Irving, Henry Martyn, and others whom we dare not name. It was a chief among our own poets who said: —

"I look upon the stormy wild,
I have no wife, I have no child;
For me there gleams no household hearth
I've none to love me on the earth."

We know that "he who wrote home's sweetest song ne'er had one of his own," and our gracious Will Carleton sang concerning John Howard Payne —

"Sure, when thy gentle spirit fled
To lands beyond the azure dome,
With arms outstretched God's angels said,
'Welcome to Heaven's home, sweet home.'"

FRANCES E. WILLARD.

There are men and women — some of them famous, some unknown — the explanation of whose uncompanioned lives may be found in the principle that underlies those memorable words applied to Washington: "Heaven left him childless that a Nation might call him Father."

In such considerations as I have here urged, and in this noblest side of human nature, a constant factor always to be counted on, I found my faith in the response of the people to the work of promoting social purity. "Sweet bells jangled, out of tune," now fill the air with minor cadences, often, alas, with discords that are heart-breaks, but all the same they are "sweet bells," and shall chime the gladdest music heaven has heard, "Some sweet day, by and by." This gentle age into which we have happily been born, is attuning the twain whom God hath made for such great destiny, to higher harmonies than any other age has known, by a reform in the denaturalizing methods of a civilization largely based on force, by which the boy and girl have been sedulously trained apart. They are now being set side by side in school, in church, in government, even as God sets male and female everywhere side by side throughout his realm of law, and has declared them one throughout his realm of grace. Meanwhile, the conquest, through invention, of matter by mind, lifts woman from the unnatural subjugation of the age of force. In the presence of a Corliss engine, which she could guide as well as he, but which is an equal mystery to them both, men and women learn that they are fast equalizing on the plane of matter, as a prediction of their confessed equalization upon the planes of mind and of morality.

We are beginning to train those with each other who were formed for each other, and the American Home, with its Christian method of a two-fold headship, based on laws natural and divine, is steadily rooting out all that remains of the mediæval continental and harem philosophies concerning this greatest problem of all time. The true relations of that complex being whom God created by uttering the mystic thought that had in it the potency of Paradise: "In *our* own image let *us* make man, and let *them* have dominion over all the earth," will ere long be ascertained by means of the new correlation and attuning, each to other, of a more complete humanity upon the Christ-like basis that "*there shall be no more curse.*" The Temperance Reform is this correlation's necessary and true forerunner, for while the race-brain is bewildered it cannot be thought out. The Labor Reform is another part, for only under co-operation can material conditions be adjusted to a noncombatant state of society, and every yoke lifted from the laboring man lifts one still heavier from the woman at his side. The Equal Suffrage Movement is another part, for a government organized and conducted by one-half the human unit, a

government of the minority, by the minority, for the minority, must always bear unequally upon the whole. The Social Purity Movement could only come after its heralds, the three other reforms I have mentioned, were well under way, because alcoholized brains would not tolerate its expression; women who had not learned to work would lack the individuality and intrepidity required to organize it, and women perpetually to be disfranchised, could not hope to see its final purposes wrought out in law. But back of all were the father and mother of all reforms — Christianity and Education — to blaze the way for all these later comers.

The Woman's Christian Temperance Union is doing no work more important than that of reconstructing the ideal of womanhood. The sculptor Hart told me, when I visited his studio in Florence many years ago, that he was investing his life to work into marble a new feminine type which should "express, unblamed," the Twentieth Century's womanhood. The Venus de Medici, with its small head and button-hole eyelids, matched the Greek conception of woman well, he thought, but America was slowly evolving another and a loftier type. His statue, named by him "Woman Triumphant," and purchased by patriotic ladies of his native State, Kentucky, adorns the City Hall at Lexington, and shows

> "A perfect woman, nobly planned,
> To warn, to comfort, and command;
> A creature not too bright or good,
> For human nature's daily food,
> And yet a spirit pure and bright,
> With something of an angel's light."

She is the embodiment of what shall be. In an age of force, woman's greatest grace was to cling; in this age of peace she doesn't cling much, but is every bit as tender and as sweet as if she did. She has strength and individuality, a gentle seriousness; there is more of the sisterly, less of the syren — more of the duchess and less of the doll. Woman is becoming what God meant her to be, and Christ's Gospel necessitates her being, the companion and counselor, not the incumbrance and toy, of man.

To meet this new creation, how grandly men themselves are growing; how considerate and brotherly, how pure in word and deed! The world has never yet known half the aptitude of character and life to which men will attain when they and women live in the *same* world. It doth not yet appear what they shall be, or we either, for that matter, but in many a home presided over by a

Temperance voter and a White Ribbon worker, I have thought the Heavenly Vision was really coming down to *terra firma*.

With all my heart I believe, as do the best of men of the Nation, that woman will bless and brighten every place she enters, and that she will enter every place on the round earth. Its welcome of her presence and her power will be the final test of any institution's fitness to survive.

Happily for us, every other genuine reform helps to push forward the white car of Social Purity. The great Peace Movement, seeking as its final outcome a Court of International Arbitration as a substitute for war, promises more momentum to our home cause than to almost any other. For as the chief corner-stone of the peaceful State is the hearthstone, so the chief pulverizer of that corner-stone is war.

An organized and systematic work for the promotion of Social Purity was undertaken in 1885 by the Woman's Christian Temperance Union. Under the three subdivisions of Preventive, Reformatory, and Legal Work, this society has gone steadily forward until the White Cross Pledge, appealing to the chivalry of men, has grown familiar in thousands of homes, and the White Shield Pledge, appealing to the chivalry of women, is following fast after the first.

Its pledges are based on the belief that you cannot in mature years get out of a character what was not built into it when the youthful nature was like "wax to receive and marble to retain;" that the *arrest of thought* must be secured by mother, minister, and teacher, before the common talk of street and play-ground has wrenched that thought away from the white line of purity and truth. Innocence may be founded on ignorance, but virtue is evermore based upon knowledge. In the presence of temptation one is a rope of sand, the other, a keen Damascus blade. To be forewarned is the only way to be forearmed. A precipice lies before every boy and girl when they emerge beyond the sheltering fortress of their home, but a safe, sure path leads around it; we must gently warn them of the one; we must tenderly lead them to the other.

The personal habits of men and women must reach the same high level. On a low plane and for selfish ends primeval and mediæval man wrought out, with fiercest cruelty, virtue as the only tolerated estate of one-half the human race. On a high plane Christianity, working through modern womanhood, shall yet make virtue the only tolerated estate of the other half of the human race, and may Heaven speed that day! A woman knows that she must walk the straight line of a true life or men will look upon her with disdain. A man needs, for his own best good, to find that in the eyes of women, just the same is true of him.

Evermore be it remembered, this earnest effort to bring in the day of "sweeter manners, purer laws" is as much in man's interest as our own. While all this heritage of a less-developed past has wrought such anguish and injustice upon woman as she is to-day, it has been even more harmful to man, for it is always worse for character to be sinning than to be sinned against. Our laws and social customs make it too easy for men to do wrong. They are not sufficiently protected by the strong hand of penalty, from themselves, from the sins that do most easily beset them, and from the mad temptations that clutch at them on every side; we ask for the total prohibition of the liquor traffic, which is leagued with every crime that is perpetrated against the physically weaker sex, and we ask for the ballot, that law and law-maker may be directly influenced by our instincts of self-protection and home protection.

We hear much of physical culture for boys, but it is girls that need this most. We hear much of manual training schools to furnish every boy at school with a bread-winning weapon; but in the interest of boys and girls alike, girls need this most. Hence it is in our plans to work for these. Mothers' Meetings are becoming one of the most familiar features of the W. C. T. U. For these we prepare programs, leaflets, and courses of reading at the Woman's Temperance Publishing House, Chicago, from which hundreds of thousands of pledges and pages of literature have gone, as pure and elevated in style and spirit as consecrated pens could render them.

Reformatory Work is the most difficult of all and yet has been of all others most earnestly carried forward thus far by women. Matrons have been placed in the police stations to look after arrested women, Reading Rooms, Lodging-Houses and Industrial Homes for women are multiplying now on every hand. State care for moral as well as mental incapables is being urged and with some small beginnings of success. Statistics of such work are difficult to gain. A single fact vouched for by the women who have in charge one of these homes in Massachusetts, is fitted to encourage every worker in this trying field. They tell us that one woman who had been arrested forty-five times was taken to the home, lifted by kindness from the depths, put into self-supporting lines, and for seven years has been an honorable, hard-working woman, happy in her rescued life.

As I have said, we are not working for ourselves alone in this great cause of Social Purity. As an impartial friend to the whole human race in both its fractions, man and woman, I, for one, am not more in earnest for this great advance because of the good it brings to the gentler than because of the blessing that it prophesies for the stronger sex. I have long believed that when that greatest of all questions, the question of a life companionship, shall be

decided on its merits, pure and simple, and not complicated with the other questions, "Did she get a good home?" "Is he a generous provider?" "Will she have plenty of money?" then will come the first fair chance ever enjoyed by young manhood for the building up of genuine character and conduct. For it is an immense temptation to the "sowing of wild oats," when the average youth knows that the smiles he covets most will be his all the same, no matter whether he smokes, swears, drinks beer, and leads an impure life, or not. The knowledge on his part that the girls of his village or "set" have no way out of dependence, reproach, or oddity except to say "yes" when he chooses to "propose;" that they dare not frown on his lower mode of life; that the world is indeed all before him where to choose; that not one girl in one hundred is endowed with the talent and pluck that make her independent of him and his ilk — all this gives him a sense of freedom to do wrong which, added to inherited appetite and outward temptation, is impelling to ruin the youth of our day with a force strong as gravitation and relentless as fate. Besides all this, the utterly false sense of his own value and importance which "Young America" acquires from seeing the sweetest and most attractive beings on earth thus virtually subject to him, often develops a lordliness of manner which is ridiculous to contemplate in boys who, otherwise, would be modest, sensible, and brotherly young fellows such as we are most of all likely to find in coeducational schools, where girls take their full share of prizes, and where many young women have in mind a European trip with some girl friend, or mayhap "a career."

Multiplied forces in law and gospel are to-day conspiring for the deliverance of our young men from the snares of the present artificial environment and estimate of their own value; but the elevation of their sisters to the plane of perfect financial and legal independence, from which the girls can dictate the equitable terms, "You must be as pure and true as you require me to be, ere I give you my hand," is the brightest hope that gleams in the sky of modern civilization for our brothers; and the greater freedom of women to make of marriage an affair of the heart and not of the purse, is the supreme result of Christianity, up to this hour.

There is no man whom women honor so deeply and sincerely, as the man of chaste life; the man who breasts the buffetings of temptation's swelling waves, like some strong swimmer in his agony, and makes the port of perfect self-control. Women have a thousand guaranties and safeguards for their purity of life. "Abandon hope, all ye who enter here," is written in letters of flame for them above the haunt of infamy, while men may come and go and

are yet smilingly received in the most elegant homes. But in spite of all this accursed latitude, how many men are pure and true!

It is said, that when darkness settles on the Adriatic Sea, and fishermen are far from land, their wives and daughters, just before putting out the lights in their humble cottages, go down by the shore and in their clear, sweet voices sing the first lines of the Ave Maria. Then they listen eagerly, and across the sea are borne to them the deep tones of those they love, singing the strains that follow, "Ora pro nobis," and thus each knows that with the other all is well. I often think that from the home-life of the Nation, from its mothers and sisters, daughters and sweethearts, there sound through the darkness of this transition age the tender notes of a dearer song, whose burden is being taken up and echoed back to us from those far out amid the billows of temptation, and its sacred words are, "Home, Sweet Home!" God grant that deeper and stronger may grow that heavenly chorus from men's and women's lips and lives! For with all its faults, and they are many, I believe the present marriage system to be the greatest triumph of past Christianity, and that it has created and conserves more happy homes than the world has ever before known. Any law that renders less binding the mutual, life-long loyalty of one man and woman to each other, which is the central idea of every home, is an unmitigated curse to that home and to humanity. Around this union, which alone renders possible a pure society, and a permanent state, the law should build its utmost safeguards, and upon this union the gospel should pronounce its most sacred benedictions. But while I hold these truths to be self-evident, I believe that a constant evolution is going forward in the home as in every other place, and that we may have but dimly dreamed the good in store for those whom God for holiest love hath made.

In the nature of the case, the most that even Christianity itself could do at first, though it is the strongest force ever let loose upon the planet, was to separate one man and one woman from the common herd, into each home, telling the woman to remain there in grateful quietness, while the man stood at the door to defend its sacred shrine with fist and spear, to insist upon its rights of property, and later on, to represent it in the State. Thus, under the conditions of a civilization crude and material, grew up that well-worn maxim of the common law, "Husband and wife are one, and that one is the husband." But such supreme power as this brought to the man supreme temptation. By the laws of mind he legislated first for himself and afterward for the physically weaker one within "his" home. The *femme couverte* is not a character appropriate to our peaceful, home-like communities, although she may have been and doubtless was a necessary figure in the days when women were safe only

as they were shut up in castles and when they were the booty chiefly sought in war. To-day a woman may circumnavigate the world alone and yet be unmolested. Our marriage laws and customs are changing to meet these new conditions. It will not do to give the husband of the modern woman power to whip his wife, "provided the stick he uses is not larger than his finger;" to give him the right to will away her unborn child; to have control over her property; to make all the laws under which she is to live; adjudicate all her penalties; try her before juries of men; conduct her to prison under the care of men; cast the ballot for her; and in general, hold her in the estate of a perpetual minor. It will not do to let the modern man determine the age of "consent," settle the penalties that men should suffer whose indignities and outrages upon women are worse than death, and by his exclusive power to make all laws and choose all officers, judicial and executive, thus leaving his own case wholly in his own hands. To continue this method is to make it as hard as possible for men to do right, and as easy as possible for them to do wrong; the magnificent possibilities of manly character are best prophesied from the fact that under such a system so many men are good and gracious. My theory of marriage in its relation to society would give this postulate. Husband and wife are one, and that one is — husband and wife. I believe they will never come to the heights of purity, of power and peace, for which they were designed in Heaven, until this better law prevails. One undivided half of the world for wife and husband equally; coeducation to mate them on the plane of mind; equal property rights to make her God's own free woman, not coerced into marriage for the sake of support, nor a bond-slave after she is married, who asks her master for the price of a paper of pins, and gives him back the change; or, if she be a petted favorite, who owes the freedom of his purse wholly to his will and never to her right; woman left free to go her honored and self-respecting way as a maiden *in perpetuo*, rather than marry a man whose deterioration through the alcohol and nicotine habits is a deadly menace to herself and the descendants that such a marriage has invoked — these are the outlooks of the future that shall make the marriage system, never a failure since it became monogamous, an assured, a permanent, a paradisaical success.

Then comes the statelier Eden back to men,
The reign the world's great bridals chaste and calm,
Then springs the crowning race of humankind.
May these things be.

The Solitude of Self.

By ELIZABETH CADY STANTQN, of New York.
(Born 1815.)

THE point I wish plainly to bring before you on this occasion is the individuality of each human soul; — our Protestant idea; the right of individual conscience and judgment,— our republican idea; individual citizenship. In discussing the rights of woman, we are to consider first what belongs to her as an individual, in a world of her own, the arbiter of her own destiny, an imaginary Robinson Crusoe, with her woman Friday on a solitary island. Her rights, under such circumstances, are to use all her faculties for her own safety and happiness.

Secondly, if we consider her as a citizen, as a member of a great nation, she must have the same rights as all other members, according to the fundamental principles of our Government.

Thirdly, viewed as a woman, an equal factor in civilization, her rights and duties are still the same; individual happiness and development.

Fourthly. It is only the incidental relations of life, such as mother, wife, sister, daughter, that may involve some special duties and training. In the usual discussion in regard to woman's sphere, such men as Herbert Spencer, Frederic Harrison, and Grant Allen uniformly subordinate her rights and duties as an individual, as a citizen, as a woman, to the necessities of these incidental relations, some of which a large class of women may never assume.

In discussing the sphere of man, we do not decide his rights as an individual, as a citizen, as a man; by his duties as a father, a husband, a brother, or a son, relations, some of which he might never fill. Moreover, he would be better fitted for these very relations, and whatever special work he might choose to do, to earn his bread, by the complete development of all his faculties as an individual.

Just so with woman. The education that will fit her to discharge the duties in the largest sphere of human usefulness, will best fit her for whatever special work she may be compelled to do.

The isolation of every human soul, the necessity of self-dependence, must give each individual the right to choose her own surroundings.

The strongest reason for giving women all the opportunities for higher education, for the full development of her faculties and forces of mind and body, for giving her the most enlarged freedom of thought and action; a complete emancipation from all forms of bondage, of custom, dependence, superstition; from all the crippling influences of fear, is the solitude and personal responsibility of her own individual life. The strongest reason why we ask for woman a voice in the Government, under which she lives; in the religion she is asked to believe; equality in social life, where she is the chief factor; a place in the trades and professions, where she may earn her bread, is because of her birthright to self-sovereignty; because, as an individual, she must rely on herself. No matter how much women prefer to lean, to be protected and supported, nor how much men desire to have them do so, they must make the voyage of life alone, and for safety in an emergency, they must know something of the laws of navigation. To guide our own craft, we must be Captain, Pilot, Engineer; with chart and compass to watch at the wheel; to watch the winds and waves and know when to take in the sail; and to read the signs of coming storms in the firmament over all. It matters not whether the solitary voyager is man or woman. Nature having endowed them equally, leaves them to their own skill and judgment in the hour of danger, and if not equal to the occasion, alike they perish.

To appreciate the importance of fitting every human soul for independent action, think for a moment of the immeasurable solitude of self. We come into the world alone, unlike all who have gone before us; we leave it alone, under circumstances peculiar to ourselves. No mortal ever has been, no mortal ever will be, like the soul just launched on the sea of life. There can never again be just such a combination of prenatal influences; never again just such environment as make up the infancy, youth, and manhood of this one. Nature never repeats itself, and the possibilities of one human soul will never be found in another. No one has ever found two blades of ribbon grass alike, and no one will ever find two human beings alike. Seeing, then, what must be the infinite diversity in human character, we can, in a measure, appreciate the loss to a nation, when any large class of the people is uneducated and unrepresented in the Government. We ask for the complete development of every individual, first for his own benefit and happiness. In fitting out an army we give each soldier his own knapsack, arms, powder, his blanket, cup, knife, fork and spoon.

ELIZABETH CADY STANTON.

We provide alike for all their individual necessities and then each man bears his own burden.

Again we ask complete individual development for the general good; for the consensus of the competent on the whole round of human interests — on all questions of national life; and here each man must bear his share of the general burden. It is sad to see how soon friendless children are left to bear their own burdens; before they can analyze their feelings, before they can even tell their joys and sorrows they are thrown on their own resources. The great lesson that Nature seems to teach us at all ages is self-dependence, self-protection, and self-support.

What a touching instance of a child's solitude, of that hunger of the heart for love and recognition, in the case of the little girl who helped to dress a Christmas tree for the children of the family in which she served. On finding there was no present for herself, she slipped away in the darkness and spent the night in an open field sitting on a stone, and when found in the morning, was weeping as if her heart would break. No mortal will ever know the thoughts that passed through the mind of that friendless child in the long hours of that cold night, with only the silent stars to keep her company. The mention of her case in the daily papers moved many generous hearts to send her presents but in the hours of her keenest suffering she was thrown wholly on herself for consolation.

In youth our most bitter disappointments, our brightest hopes and ambitions are known only to ourselves, even our friendship and love we never fully share with another; there is something of every passion, in every situation we conceal. Alike in our triumphs and our defeats. The successful candidate for the Presidency and his opponent, each have a solitude peculiarly his own, and good form forbids either to speak of his pleasure or regret. The solitude of the King on his throne and the prisoner in his cell, differs in character and degree, but it is solitude nevertheless. We ask no sympathy from others in the anxiety and agony of a broken friendship or shattered love. When death sunders our nearest ties, alone we sit in the shadow of our affliction. Alike mid the greatest triumphs and darkest tragedies of life, we walk alone. On the divine heights of human attainment, eulogized and worshipped as a hero, or saint, we stand alone. In ignorance, poverty and vice, as a pauper or criminal alone we starve or steal, alone we suffer the sneers and rebuffs of our fellows, alone we are hunted and wounded through dark courts and alleys, in by-ways and highways, alone we stand at the judgment seat, alone in the prison cell we lament our

crimes and misfortunes, and alone we expiate them on the gallows. In hours like these we realize the awful solitude of individual life, its pains, its penalties, and its responsibilities; hours in which the youngest and most helpless are thrown on their own resources for guidance and consolation. Seeing, then, that life must ever be a march and a battle; that each soldier must be equipped for his own protection, it is the height of cruelty to rob the individual of a single natural right, and the greatest of these is an equal voice in the Government under which we live.

To throw obstacles in the way of a complete education, is like putting out the eyes, to deny the rights of property is like cutting off the hands, to deny political equality is to rob the ostracised of all self-respect; of credit in the market place; of recompense in the world of work; of a voice in those who make and administer the law; a choice in the jury before whom they are tried, and in the judge who decides their punishment.

Shakespeare's play of Titus and Andromicus contains a terrible satire on woman's position in the 19th century. "Rude men," the play tells us, seized the King's daughter, cut out her tongue, cut off her hands and then bade her "go call for water and wash her hands." What a picture of woman's position. Robbed of her natural rights, handicapped by law and custom at every turn, yet compelled to fight her own battles; and in the emergencies of life to fall back on herself for protection.

The girl of sixteen, thrown on the world, to support herself, to make her own place in society, to resist the temptations that surround her, and maintain a spotless integrity, must do all this by native force — a superior education. She does not acquire this power by being trained to trust others and distrust herself. If she wearies of the struggle, finding it hard work to swim up stream and allows herself to drift with the current, she will find plenty of company, but not one to share her misery in the hour of her deepest humiliation. If she tries to retrieve her position, to conceal the past, her life is hedged about with fears, lest willing hands should tear the veil from what she fain would hide. Young and friendless, *she* knows the bitter solitude of self.

How the little courtesies of life on the surface of society, deemed so important from man towards woman, fade into utter insignificance, in view of the deeper tragedies in which she must play her part alone, where no human aid is possible. The young wife and mother, at the head of some establishment, with a kind husband to shield her from the adverse winds of life, with wealth, fortune, and position, has a certain harbor of safety, secure against the ordinary

ills of life. But to manage a household; have a desirable influence in society; keep her friends and the affections of her husband, train her children and servants well, she must have rare common sense, wisdom, diplomacy, and a nice knowledge of human nature. To do all this, she needs the cardinal virtues and the strong points of character that the most successful statesman possesses.

An uneducated woman, trained to dependence, with no resources in herself, must make a failure of any position in life. But society says women do not need a knowledge of the world, the liberal training that experience in public life must give, all the advantages of collegiate education, but when, for the lack of all this, the woman's happiness is wrecked, alone she bears her humiliation; and the solitude of the weak and the ignorant is indeed pitiable. In the wild chase for the prizes of life they are ground to powder.

In age, when the pleasures of youth are passed, children grown up, married, and gone, the hurry and bustle of life in a measure over, when the hands are weary of active service, when the old armchair and the fireside are the chosen resorts, then men and women alike must fall back on their own resources. If they cannot find companionship in books, if they have no interest in the vital questions of the hour, no interest in watching the consummation of reforms, with which they might have been identified, they soon pass into their dotage. The more fully all the faculties of the mind are developed and kept in use, the longer the period of vigor and active interest in all around us continues. If from a lifelong participation in public affairs, a woman feels responsible for the laws regulating our system of education, the discipline of our jails and prisons, the sanitary condition of our private houses, public buildings, and thoroughfares, an interest in commerce, finance, and foreign relations, in any or all these questions her solitude will at least be respectable, and she will not be driven to gossip or scandal for entertainment.

The chief reason for opening to every soul all the doors to the whole round of human duties and pleasures, is the individual development thus attained, the resources thus provided under the circumstances to mitigate the solitude that at times must come to every one. I once asked Prince Krapotkin, a Russian Nihilist, how he endured his long years in prison deprived of books, pen, ink, and paper. "Ah!" said he, "I thought out many questions in which I had a deep interest. In the pursuit of an idea, I took no note of time. When tired of solving knotty problems, I recited all the beautiful passages in prose and verse I had ever learned. I became acquainted with myself and my own resources. I had a world of my own, a vast empire, that no Russian jailer or Czar could invade."

Such is the value of liberal thought and broad culture, when shut off from all human companionship, bringing comfort and sunshine within even the four walls of a prison cell. As women oftentimes share a similar fate, should they not have all the consolation that the most liberal education can give? Their suffering in the prisons of St. Petersburgh; in the long weary marches to Siberia, and in the mines, working side by side with men, surely call for all the self-support that the most exalted sentiments of patriotism can give.

When suddenly roused at midnight, with the startling cry of fire! fire! to find the house over their heads in flames, do women wait for men to point the way to safety? And are the men, equally bewildered and half suffocated with smoke, in a position to do more than try to save themselves? At such times the most timid women have shown a courage and heroism, in saving their husbands and children, that has surprised everybody. Inasmuch then as woman shares equally the joys and sorrows of time and eternity, is it not the height of presumption in man to propose to represent her at the ballot-box and the throne of grace, to do her voting in the State, her praying in the church, and to assume the position of High Priest at the family altar?

Nothing strengthens the judgment and quickens the conscience like individual responsibility; nothing adds such dignity to character as the recognition of one's self-sovereignty; the right to an equal place everywhere conceded; a place earned by personal merit, not an artificial attainment, by inheritance, wealth, family, and position. Seeing, then, that the responsibilities of life rest equally on man and woman; that their destiny is the same, they need the same preparation. To talk of sheltering woman from the fierce storms of life is the sheerest mockery, for they beat on her from every point of the compass, just as they do on man, and with more fatal results, for he has been trained to protect himself, to resist, and conquer. Such are the facts in human experience, the responsibilities of individual sovereignty. Rich and poor, intelligent and ignorant, wise and foolish, virtuous and vicious, man and woman, it is ever the same, each soul must depend wholly on itself.

Whatever the theories may be of woman's dependence on man, in the supreme moments of her life he cannot bear her burdens. Alone she goes to the gates of death, to give life to every man that is born into the world; no one can share her fears; no one can mitigate her pangs, and if her sorrow is greater than she can bear, alone she passes beyond the gates into the vast unknown.

From the mountain tops of Judea long ago, a heavenly voice bade his disciples "bear ye one another's burdens," but humanity has not yet risen to

that point of self-sacrifice, and if ever so willing, how few the burdens are that one soul can bear for another. In the highways of Palestine; in fasting and prayer on the solitary mountain tops; in the garden of Gethsemane; before the judgment seat of Pilate; betrayed by one of his trusted disciples at his last supper; in his agonies on the cross, even Jesus of Nazareth, in those last sad days on earth, felt the awful solitude of self. Deserted by man, in agony he cries, "My God! my God! why hast thou forsaken me?" And so it ever must be in the conflicting scenes of human life; in the long weary march, each one walks alone. We may nave many friends, love, kindness, sympathy, charity to smooth our pathway in everyday life, but in the tragedies that belong to all human experiences, each mortal stands alone. But when all artificial trammels are removed, and women are recognized as individuals, responsible for their own environments, thoroughly educated for all the positions in life they may be called to fill, with all the resources in themselves that liberal thought and broad culture can give; guided by their own conscience and judgment; trained to self-protection by a healthy development of the muscular system, and skill in the use of weapons of defense, and stimulated to self-support by a knowledge of the business world and the pleasure that pecuniary independence must ever give; when women are trained in this way, they will, in a measure, be fitted for those hours of solitude that come alike to all, whether prepared or otherwise.

As in our extremities we must depend on ourselves, the dictates of wisdom point to complete individual development.

In talking of education, how shallow the argument that each class must be educated for the special work it proposes to do, and all those faculties not needed in this special work must lie dormant and utterly wither for want of use, when, perhaps, these will be the very faculties needed in life's greatest emergencies. Some say where is the use of drilling girls in the languages, the sciences, in law, medicine, theology. As wives, mothers, housekeepers, cooks, they need a different curriculum from boys, who are to fill all positions. The chief cooks in our great hotels and ocean steamers are men. In our large cities men run the bakeries; they make our bread, cake, and pies; they manage the laundries; they are now considered our best *milliners* and dressmakers. Because some men fill these departments of usefulness, shall we regulate the curriculum in Harvard and Yale to their present necessities? If not, why this talk in our best colleges of a curriculum for girls, who are crowding into the trades and professions; teachers in all our public schools; rapidly filling many

lucrative and honorable positions in life? They are showing, too, their calmness and courage in the most trying hours of human experience.

You have probably all read in the daily papers of the late terrible storm in the Bay of Biscay, when a tidal wave made such havoc on the shore, wrecking vessels, unroofing houses, and carrying destruction everywhere. Among other buildings, the woman's prison was demolished. Those who escaped, standing on the beach, saw men struggling to reach the shore. They promptly, by clasping hands, made a chain of themselves and pushed out into the sea, again and again, at the risk of their lives, until they had brought six men to shore, carried them to a shelter, and did all in their power for their comfort and protection. What special school training could have prepared these women for this sublime moment in their lives? In times like this, humanity rises above all college curriculums and recognizes Nature as the greatest of all teachers in the hour of danger and death. Women are already the equals of men in courage and heroism. In music they speak again the language of Mendelssohn, Beethoven, Chopin, Schumann, and are worthy interpreters of their great thoughts. The poetry and novels of the century are theirs, and they have touched the keynote of reform in religion, politics, and social life. They fill the editor's and professor's chair, plead at the bar of justice, walk the wards of hospitals, and speak from the pulpit and the platform. Such is the type of womanhood that an enlightened public sentiment welcomes to-day; such the triumph of the facts of life over the false theories of the past.

Is it then consistent to hold the developed woman of this day within the same narrow political limits as the dame with the spinning wheel and knitting needle occupied in the past? No! no! Machinery has taken the labors of women as well as men on its tireless shoulders; the loom and the spinning wheel are but dreams of the past; the pen, the brush, the easel, the chisel, have taken their places, while the hopes and ambitions of women are essentially changed.

We see reason sufficient in the outer conditions of human beings for individual liberty and development, but when we consider the self-dependence of every human soul in all the tragedies of life, we see the need of courage, judgment, independence, skill in the exercise of every faculty of mind and body, strengthened and developed by use in woman, as well as man.

Whatever may be said of man's protecting power in ordinary conditions, mid all the terrible disasters by land and sea, in the supreme moments of danger, alone woman must ever meet the horrors of the situation; the angel of death even makes no royal pathway for her. Man's love and sympathy enter only into the sunshine of our lives. In that solemn solitude of self that links us

with the immeasurable and the eternal, each soul lives alone forever. A recent writer says: "There is a solitude which each and every one of us has always carried with him, more inaccessible than the ice-cold mountains, more profound than the midnight sea; the solitude of self. Our inner being, which we call ourself, no eye nor touch of man or angel has ever pierced. It is more hidden than the caves of the gnome; the sacred adytum of the oracle; the hidden chamber of eleucinian mystery, for to it only omniscience is permitted to enter."

Such is individual life. Who, I ask you, can take, dare take, on himself, the rights, the duties, the responsibilities, of another human soul?

(Speech delivered January 18, 1892, before Committee on Judiciary, Washington, D. C.)

The Cross of Gold.

By WILLIAM JENNINGS BRYAN, of Nebraska.

(Born 1860.)

MR. CHAIRMAN AND GENTLEMEN OF THE CONVENTION: I would be presumptious, indeed, to present myself against the distinguished gentlemen to whom you have listened if this were a mere measuring of abilities; but this is not a contest between persons. The humblest citizen in all the land, when clad in the armor of a righteous cause, is stronger than all the hosts of error. I come to speak to you in defense of a cause as holy as the cause of liberty — the cause of humanity.

When this debate is concluded, a motion will be made to lay upon the table the resolution offered in commendation of the administration, and also the resolution offered in condemnation of the Administration. We object to bringing this question down to the level of persons. The individual is but an atom; he is born, he acts, he dies; but principles are eternal; and this has been a contest over a principle.

Never before in the history of this country has there been witnessed such a contest as that through which we have just passed. Never before in the history of American politics has a great issue been fought out as this issue has been, by the voters of a great party. On the fourth of March, 1895, a few Democrats, most of them members of Congress, issued an address to the Democrats of the Nation, asserting that the money question was the paramount issue of the hour; declaring that a majority of the Democratic party had the right to control the action of the party on this paramount issue; and concluding with the request that the believers in the free coinage of silver in the Democratic party should organize, take charge of, and control the policy of the Democratic party. Three days later, at Memphis, an organization was perfected, and the silver Democrats went forth openly and courageously proclaiming their belief, and declaring that, if successful, they would crystallize into a platform the declaration which they had made. Then began the conflict. With a zeal approaching the zeal which inspired the crusaders who followed Peter the

Hermit, our silver Democrats went forth from victory unto victory until they are now assembled, not to discuss, not to debate, but to enter up the judgment already rendered by the plain people of this country. In this contest brother has been arrayed against brother, father against son. The warmest ties of love, acquaintance, and association have been disregarded; old leaders have been cast aside when they have refused to give expression to the sentiments of those whom they would lead, and new leaders have sprung up to give direction to this cause of truth. Thus has the contest been waged, and we have assembled here under as binding and solemn instructions as were ever imposed upon representatives of the people.

We do not come as individuals. As individuals we might have been glad to compliment the gentleman from New York (Senator Hill), but we know that the people for whom we speak would never be willing to put him in a position where he could thwart the will of the Democratic party. I say it was not a question of persons; it was a question of principle, and it is not with gladness, my friends, that we find ourselves brought into conflict with those who are now arrayed on the other side.

The gentleman who preceded me (ex-Governor Russell) spoke of the State of Massachusetts; let me assure him that not one present in all this convention entertains the least hostility to the people of the State of Massachusetts, but we stand here representing people who are the equals, before the law, of the greatest citizens in the State of Massachusetts. When you (turning to the gold delegates) come before us and tell us that we are about to disturb your business interests, we reply that you have disturbed our business interests by your course.

We say to you that you have made the definition of a business man too limited in its application. The man who is employed for wages is as much a business man as his employer; the attorney in a country town is as much a business man as the corporation counsel in a great metropolis; the merchant at the cross-roads store is as much a business man as the merchant of New York; the farmer who goes forth in the morning and toils all day — who begins in the spring and toils all summer — and who by the application of brain and muscle to the natural resources of the country creates wealth, is as much a business man as the man who goes upon the board of trade and bets upon the price of grain; the miners who go down a thousand feet into the earth, or climb two thousand feet upon the cliffs, and bring forth from their hiding places the precious metals to be poured into the channels of trade are as much business men as the few financial magnates who, in a back room, corner the money of the world. We come to speak for this broader class of business men.

WILLIAM JENNINGS BRYAN.

Ah, my friends, we say not one word against those who live upon the Atlantic coast, but the hardy pioneers who have braved all the dangers of the wilderness, who have made the desert to blossom as the rose — the pioneers away out there (pointing to the West), who rear their children near to Nature's heart, where they can mingle their voices with the voices of the birds — out there where they have erected schoolhouses for the education of their young, churches where they praise their Creator, and cemeteries where rest the ashes of their dead — these people, we say, are as deserving of the consideration of our party as any people in this country. It is for these that we speak. We do not come as aggressors. Our war is not a war of conquest; we are fighting in the defense of our homes, our families, and posterity. We have petitioned, and our petitions have been scorned; we have entreated, and our entreaties have been disregarded; we have begged, and they have mocked when our calamity came. We beg no longer; we entreat no more; we petition no more. We defy them.

The gentleman from Wisconsin has said that he fears a Robespierre. My friends, in this land of the free you need not fear that a tyrant will spring up from among the people. What we need is an Andrew Jackson to stand, as Jackson stood, against the encroachments of organized wealth.

They tell us that this platform was made to catch votes. We reply to them that changing conditions make new issues; that the principles upon which Democracy rests are as everlasting as the hills, but that they must be applied to new conditions as they arise. Conditions have arisen, and we are here to meet those conditions. They tell us that the income tax ought not to be brought in here; that it is a new idea. They criticise us for our criticism of the Supreme Court of the United States. My friends, we have not criticised; we have simply called attention to what you already know. If you want criticisms, read the dissenting opinions of the court. There you will find criticisms. They say that we passed an unconstitutional law; we deny it. The income tax law was not unconstitutional when it was passed; it was not unconstitutional when it went before the Supreme Court for the first time; it did not become unconstitutional until one of the judges changed his mind, and we cannot be expected to know when a judge will change his mind. The income tax is just. It simply intends to put the burdens of Government justly upon the backs of the people. I am in favor of an income tax. When I find a man who is not willing to bear his share of the burdens of the Government which protects him, I find a man who is unworthy to enjoy the blessings of a Government like ours.

They say that we are opposing national bank currency; it is true. If you will read what Thomas Benton said, you will find he said that, in searching

history, he could find but one parallel to Andrew Jackson; that was Cicero, who destroyed the conspiracy of Cataline and saved Rome. Benton said that Cicero only did for Rome what Jackson did for us when he destroyed the bank conspiracy and saved America. We say in our platform that we believe that the right to coin and issue money is a function of Government. We believe it. We believe that it is a part of sovereignty, and can no more with safety be delegated to private individuals than we could afford to delegate to private individuals the power to make penal statutes or levy taxes. Mr. Jefferson, who was once regarded as good Democratic authority, seems to have differed in opinion from the gentleman who has addressed us on the part of the minority. Those who are opposed to this proposition tell us that the issue of paper money is a function of the bank, and that the Government ought to go out of the banking business. I stand with Jefferson rather than with them, and tell them, as he did, that the issue of money is a function of Government, and that the banks ought to go out of the governing business.

They complain about the plank which declares against life tenure in office. They have tried to strain it to mean that which it does not mean. What we oppose by that plank is the life tenure which is being built up in Washington, and which excludes from participation in official benefits the humbler members of society.

Let me call your attention to two or three important things. The gentleman from New York says that he will propose an amendment to the platform providing that the proposed change in our monetary system shall not affect contracts already made. Let me remind you that there is no intention of affecting those contracts which according to present laws are made payable in gold; but if he means to say that we cannot change our monetary system without protecting those who have loaned money before the change was made, I desire to ask him where, in law or in morals, he can find justification for not protecting the debtors when the act of 1873 was passed, if he now insists that we must protect the creditors.

He says he will also propose an amendment which will provide for the suspension of free coinage if we fail to maintain the parity within a year. We reply that when we advocate a policy which we believe will be successful, we are not compelled to raise a doubt as to our own sincerity by suggesting what we shall do if we fail. I ask him, if he would apply his logic to us, why he does not apply it to himself. He says he wants this country to try to secure an international agreement. Why does he not tell us what he is going to do if he fails to secure an international agreement? There is more reason for him to do that than there is for us to provide against the failure to maintain the

parity. Our opponents have tried for twenty years to secure an international agreement, and those are waiting for it most patiently who do not want it at all.

And now, my friends, let me come to the paramount issue. If they ask us why it is that we say more on the money question than we say upon the tariff question, I reply that, if protection has slain its thousands, the gold standard has slain its tens of thousands. If they ask us why we do not embody in our platform all the things that we believe in, we reply that when we have restored the money of the Constitution all other necessary reforms will be possible; but that until this is done there is no other reform that can be accomplished.

Why is it that within three months such a change has come over the country? Three months ago, when it was confidently asserted that those who believe in the gold standard would frame our platform and nominate our candidates, even the advocates of the gold standard did not think that we could elect a President. And they had good reason for their doubt, because there is scarcely a State here to-day asking for the gold standard which is not in the absolute control of the Republican party. But note the change. Mr. McKinley was nominated in St. Louis upon a platform which declared for the maintenance of the gold standard until it can be changed into bimetallism by international agreement. Mr. McKinley was the most popular man among the Republicans, and three months ago everybody in the Republican party prophesied his election. How is it to-day? Why, the man who was once pleased to think that he looked like Napoleon — that man shudders to-day when he remembers that he was nominated on the anniversary of the battle of Waterloo. Not only that, but as he listens he can hear with ever-increasing distinctness the sound of the waves as they beat upon the lonely shores of St. Helena.

Why this change? Ah, my friends, is not the reason for the change evident to any one who will look at the matter? No private character, however pure, no personal popularity, however great, can protect from the avenging wrath of an indignant people a man who will declare that he is in favor of fastening the gold standard upon this country, or who is willing to surrender the right of self-government and place the legislative control of our affairs in the hands of foreign potentates and powers.

We go forth confident that we shall win. Why? Because upon the paramount issue of this campaign there is not a spot of ground upon which the enemy will dare to challenge battle. If they tell us that the gold standard is a good thing, we shall point to their platform and tell them that their platform pledges the party to get rid of the gold standard and substitute bimetallism. If the gold standard is a good thing, why try to get rid of it? I call your

attention to the fact that some of the very people who are in this convention to-day and who tell us that we ought to declare in favor of international bimetallism — thereby declaring that the gold standard is wrong and that the principle of bimetallism is better — these very people four months ago were open and avowed advocates of the gold standard, and were then telling us that we could not legislate two metals together, even with the aid of all the world. If the gold standard is a good thing, we ought to declare in favor of its retention and not in favor of abandoning it; and if the gold standard is a bad thing why should we wait until other nations are willing to help us to let go? Here is the line of battle, and we care not upon which issue they force the fight; we are prepared to meet them on either issue or on both. If they tell us that the gold standard is the standard of civilization, we reply to them that this, the most enlightened of all the nations of the earth, has never declared for a gold standard and that both the great parties this year are declaring against it. If the gold standard is the standard of civilization, why, my friends, should we not have it? If they come to meet us on that issue we can present the history of our Nation. More than that; we can tell them that they will search the pages of history in vain to find a single instance where the common people of any land have ever declared themselves in favor of the gold standard. They can find where the holders of fixed investments have declared for a gold standard, but not where the masses have.

Mr. Carlisle said in 1878 that this was a struggle between "the idle holders of idle capital" and "the struggling masses, who produce the wealth and pay the taxes of the country," and, my friends, the question we are to decide is: Upon which side will the Democratic party fight; upon the side of "the idle holders of idle capital" or upon the side of "the struggling masses?" That is the question which the party must answer first, and then it must be answered by each individual hereafter. The sympathies of the Democratic party, as shown by the platform, are on the side of the struggling masses who have ever been the foundation of the Democratic party. There are two ideas of government. There are those who believe that, if you will only legislate to make the well-to-do prosperous, their prosperity will leak through on those below. The Democratic idea, however, has been that if you legislate to make the masses prosperous, their prosperity will find its way up through every class which rests upon them.

You come to us and tell us that the great cities are in favor of the gold standard; we reply that the great cities rest upon our broad and fertile prairies. Burn down your cities and leave our farms, and your cities will spring up again

as if by magic; but destroy our farms and the grass will grow in the streets of every city in the country.

My friends, we declare that this Nation is able to legislate for its own people on every question, without waiting for the aid or consent of any other nation on earth; and upon that issue we expect to carry every State in the Union. I shall not slander the inhabitants of the fair State of Massachusetts nor the inhabitants of the State of New York by saying that, when they are confronted with the proposition, they will declare that this Nation is not able to attend to its own business. It is the issue of 1776 over again. Our ancestors, when but three millions in number, had the courage to declare their political independence of every other nation; shall we, their descendants, when we have grown to seventy millions, declare that we are less independent than our forefathers? No, my friends, that will never be the verdict of our people. Therefore, we care not upon what lines the battle is fought. If they say bimetallism is good, but that we cannot have it until other nations help us, we reply that, instead of having a gold standard because England has, we will restore bimetallism, and then let England have bimetallism because the United States has it. If they dare to come out in the open field and defend the gold standard as a good thing, we will fight them to the uttermost. Having behind us the producing masses of this Nation and the world, supported by the commercial interests, the laboring interests, and the toilers everywhere, we will answer their demand for a gold standard by saying to them: You shall not press down upon the brow of labor this crown of thorns, you shall not crucify mankind upon a cross of gold.

(Concluding the debate on the Democratic Platform; delivered at Chicago, 1896.)

The Black Man.

By FREDERICK DOUGLASS, of Maryland.
(Born 1817, died 1895.)

THE Constitution knows no man by the color of his skin. The men who made it were too noble for any such limitation of humanity and human rights. The word 'white' is a modern term in the legislation of this country. It was never used in the better days of our Republic, but has sprung up within the period of our national degeneracy." * * * "I am here simply as an American citizen, having a stake in the weal or woe of the Nation in common with other citizens. I am not even here as the agent of any sect or party. Parties are too politic and sects are too sectarian, to select one of my odious class, and of my radical opinions, at this important time and place to represent them. Nevertheless, I do not stand alone here. There are noble-minded men in Illinois who are neither ashamed of their cause nor their company. Some of them are here to-night, and I expect to meet with them in every part of the State where I may travel. But, I pray, hold no man or party responsible for my words, for I am no man's agent, and I am no party's agent." * * * "It is alleged that I am come to this State to insult Senator Douglas. Among gentlemen that is only an insult which is intended to be such, and I disavow all such intention. I am not even here with the desire to meet in public debate that gentleman. I am here precisely as I was in this State one year ago — with no other change in my relations to you, or to the great question of human freedom, than time and circumstances have brought about. I shall deal with the subject with the same spirit now as then, approving such men and such measures as look to the security of liberty in the land, and with my whole heart condemning all such men and measures, as serve to subvert or endanger it. If Hon. S. A. Douglas, your beloved and highly-gifted Senator, has designedly, or through mistaken notions of public policy, ranged himself on the side of oppressors and the deadliest enemies of liberty, I know of no reason, either in this world or in any other world, which should prevent me, or prevent any one else, from thinking so, or from saying so.

"The people in whose cause I come here to-night are not among those whose right to regulate their own domestic concerns is so feelingly, and earnestly, and eloquently contended for in certain quarters. They have no Stephen Arnold Douglas — no General Cass, to contend at North Market Hall for their popular sovereignty. They have no national purse, no offices, no reputation, with which to corrupt Congress, or to tempt men, mighty in eloquence and influence, into their service. Oh, no! They have nothing to commend them but their unadorned humanity. They are human — that's all — only human. Nature owns them as human — God owns them as human; but men own them as property, and only as property. Every right of human nature, as such, is denied them; they are dumb in their chains. To utter one groan or scream for freedom in the presence of the Southern advocate of popular sovereignty, is to bring down the frightful lash upon their quivering flesh. I know this suffering people; I am acquainted with their sorrows; I am one with them in experience; I have felt the lash of the slave-driver, and stand up here with all the bitter recollection of its horrors vividly upon me.

"There are special reasons why I should speak, and speak freely. The right of speech is a very precious one. I understand that Mr. Douglas regards himself as the most abused man in the United States; and that the greatest outrage ever committed upon him was in the case in which your indignation raised your voices so high that his could not be heard. No personal violence, as I understand, was offered him. It seems to have been a trial of vocal powers between the individual and the multitude; and, as might have been expected, the voice of one man was not equal in volume to the voices of five thousand. I do not mention this circumstance to approve it; I do not approve it. I am for free speech, as well as for free men and free soil; but how ineffably insignificant is this wrong done in a single instance, compared to the stupendous iniquity perpetrated against more than three millions of the American people, who are struck dumb by the very men in whose cause Mr. Senator Douglas was here to plead! While I would not approve the silencing of Mr. Douglas, may we not hope that this slight abridgment of his rights may lead him to respect in some degree the rights of other men, as good in the eye of Heaven as himself?

"Let us now consider the great question of the age, the only great national question which seriously agitates the public mind at this hour. It is called the vexed question, and excites alarm in every quarter of the country. * * *

"The proposition to repeal the Missouri Compromise was a stunning one. It fell upon the Nation like a bolt from a cloudless sky. The thing was too startling for belief. You believed in the South; and you believed in the North;

and you knew that the repeal of the Missouri Compromise was a breach of honor; and, therefore, you said that the thing could not be done. Besides, both parties had pledged themselves directly, positively, and solemnly against reopening in Congress the agitation on the subject of slavery; and the President himself had declared his intention to maintain the national quiet. Upon these assurances you rested, and rested fatally. But you should have learned long ago that men do not 'gather grapes of thorns, or figs of thistles.' It is folly to put faith in men who have broken faith with God. When a man has brought himself to enslave a child of God, to put fetters on his brother, he has qualified himself to disregard the most sacred of compacts; beneath the sky there is nothing more sacred than man, and nothing can be properly respected when manhood is despised and trampled upon. * * *

"It is said that slavery is the creature of positive law, and that it can only exist where it is sustained by positive law — that neither in Kansas nor Nebraska is there any law establishing slavery and that, therefore, the moment a slave-holder carries his slave into those territories, he is free and restored to the rights of human nature. This is the ground taken by General Cass. He contended for it in the North Market Hall, with much eloquence and skill. I thought, while I was hearing him on this point, that slave-holders would not be likely to thank him for the argument. Theoretically the argument is good; practically the argument is bad. It is not true that slavery cannot exist without being established by positive law. The instance cannot be shown where a law was ever made establishing slavery, where the relation of master and slave did not previously exist. The law is always an after-coming consideration. Wicked men first overpower, and subdue their fellow-men to slavery, and then call in the law to sanction the deed. Even in the slave States of America, slavery has never been established by positive law. It was not established under the colonial charters of the original States, nor the Constitutions of the States. It is now, and has always been, a system of lawless violence. On this proposition I hold myself ready and willing to meet any defender of the Nebraska Bill. I would not even hesitate to meet the author of that bill himself. * * *

"He says he wants no broad, black line across this continent. Such a line is odious, and begets unkind feelings between the citizens of a common country. Now, fellow-citizens, why is the line of thirty-six degrees thirty minutes a broad, black line? What is it that entitles it to be called a black line? It is the fashion to call whatever is odious in this country, black. You call the devil black, and he may be; but what is there in the line of thirty-six degrees thirty minutes which makes it blacker than the line which separates

Illinois from Missouri, or Michigan from Indiana? I can see nothing in the line itself which should make it black or odious. It is a line, that's all. If it is black, black and odious, it must be so, not because it is a line, but because of the things it separates. If it keeps asunder what God has joined together — or separates what God intended should be fused, then it may be called an odious line, a black line; but if, on the other hand, it marks only a distinction natural and eternal, a distinction fixed in the nature of things by the eternal God, then I say, withered be the arm and blasted be the hand that would blot it out. * * *

"Nothing could be further from the truth, than to say that popular sovereignty is accorded to the people who may settle the territories of Kansas and Nebraska. The three great cardinal powers of government are the executive, legislative, and judicial. Are these powers secured to the people of Kansas and Nebraska? You know they are not. That bill places the people of that territory as completely under the powers of the Federal Government as Canada is under the British crown. By this Kansas-Nebraska Bill the Federal Government has the substance of all governing power, while the people have the shadow. The judicial power of the territories is not from the people of the territories, who are so bathed in the sunlight of popular sovereignty by stump eloquence, but from the Federal Government. The executive power of the territories derives its existence not from the overflowing fountain of popular sovereignty, but from the Federal Government. The secretaries of the territories are not appointed by the sovereign people of the territories, but are appointed independently of popular sovereignty.

"But is there nothing in this bill which justifies the supposition that it contains the principle of popular sovereignty? No, not one word. Even the territorial councils, elected, not by the people who may settle in the territories, but by only certain descriptions of people, are subject to a double veto power, vested first in a Governor, whom they did not elect, and second in the President of the United States. The only shadow of popular sovereignty is the power given to the people of the territories by this bill to have, hold, buy, and sell human beings. The sovereign right to make slaves of his fellow-men, if they choose, is the only sovereignty that the bill secures. In all else, popular sovereignty means only what the boy meant, when he said he was going to live with his uncle Robert. He said he was going there, and that he meant while there to do just what he pleased, if his uncle Robert would let him. * * *

"But it may be said that Congress has the right to allow the people of the territories to hold slaves. The answer is, that Congress is made up of men, and possesses only the right of men; and unless it can be shown that some

men have a right to hold their fellow-men as property, Congress has no such right. There is not a man within the sound of my voice, who has not as good a right to enslave a brother man, as Congress has. This will not be denied even by slave-holders. Then I put the question to you, each of you, all of you, have you any such right? To admit such a right is to charge God with folly, to substitute anarchy for order, and to turn earth into a hell. And you know better. Now, friends and fellow-citizens, I am uttering no new sentiments at this point, and am making no new argument. In this respect there is nothing new under the sun.

"Error may be new, or it may be old, since it is founded in a misapprehension of what truth is. It has its beginnings; and it has its endings. But not so with truth. Truth is eternal. Like the great God, from whose throne it emanates, it is from everlasting unto everlasting, and can never pass away. Such a truth is a man's right to freedom. He was born with it. It was his before he comprehended it. The title-deed to it is written by the Almighty on his heart; and the record of it is in the bosom of the Eternal; and never can Stephen A. Douglas efface it, unless he can tear from the great heart of God this truth; and this mighty Government of ours will never be at peace with God, unless it shall, practically and universally, embrace this great truth as the foundation of all its institutions, and the rule of its entire administration. Now, gentlemen — I have done. I have no fear for the ultimate triumph of free principles in this country. The signs of the times are propitious. Victories have been won by slavery; but they have never been won against the onward march of anti-slavery principles. The progress of these principles has been constant, steady, strong, and certain. Every victory won by slavery has had the effect to fling our principles more widely and favorably among the people. The annexation of Texas — the Florida war — the war with Mexico — the compromise measures, and the repeal of the Missouri Compromise have all signally vindicated the wisdom of the great God, who has promised to overrule the wickedness of men for His own glory — to confound the wisdom of the crafty and bring to naught the counsels of the ungodly."

(From a speech delivered in Chicago in 1854.)

The Soul's Providence.

By RALPH WALDO EMERSON, of Massachusetts.
(Born 1803, died 1882.)

IN this refulgent summer, it has been a luxury to draw the breath of life. The grass grows, the buds burst, the meadow is spotted with fire and gold in the tint of flowers. The air is full of birds, and sweet with the breath of the pine, the balm-of-Gilead, and the new hay. Night brings no gloom to the heart with its welcome shade. Through the transparent darkness the stars pour their almost spiritual rays. Man under them seems a young child, and his huge globe a toy. The cool night bathes the world as with a river, and prepares his eyes again for the crimson dawn. The mystery of nature was never displayed more happily. The corn and the wine have been freely dealt to all creatures, and the never-broken silence with which the old bounty goes forward, has not yielded yet one word of explanation. One is constrained to respect the perfection of this world, in which our senses converse. How wide; how rich; what invitation from every property it gives to every faculty of man! In its fruitful soils; in its navigable sea; in its mountains of metal and stone; in its forests of all woods; in its animals; in its chemical ingredients; in the powers and path of light, heat, attraction, and life, it is well worth the pith and heart of great men to subdue and enjoy it. The planters, the mechanics, the inventors, the astronomers, the builders of cities, and the captains, history delights to honor.

But when the mind opens, and reveals the laws which traverse the universe, and make things what they are, then shrinks the great world at once into a mere illustration and fable of this mind. What am I? and What is? asks the human spirit with a curiosity new-kindled, but never to be quenched. Behold these outrunning laws, which our imperfect apprehension can see tend this way and that, but not come full circle. Behold these infinite relations, so like, so unlike; many, yet one. I would study, I would know, I would admire forever. These works of thought have been the entertainments of the human spirit in all ages.

A more secret, sweet, and overpowering beauty appears to man when his heart and mind open to the sentiment of virtue. Then he is instructed in

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what is above him. He learns that his being is without bound; that, to the good, to the perfect, he is born, low as he now lies in evil and weakness. That which he venerates is still his own, though he has not realized it yet. *He ought.* He knows the sense of that grand word, though his analysis fails entirely to render account of it. When in innocency, or when by intellectual perception, he attains to say,—"I love the Right; Truth is beautiful within and without, forevermore. Virtue, I am thine: save me: use me: thee will I serve, day and night, in great, in small, that I may be not virtuous, but virtue;" — then is the end of the creation answered, and God is well pleased.

The sentiment of virtue is a reverence and delight in the presence of certain divine laws. It perceives that this homely game of life we play, covers, under what seemed foolish details, principles that astonish. The child amidst his baubles, is learning the action of light, motion, gravity, muscular force; and in the game of human life, love, fear, justice, appetite, man, and God, interact. These laws refuse to be adequately stated. They will not be written out on paper, or spoken by the tongue. They elude our persevering thought; yet we read them hourly in each other's faces, in each other's actions, in our own remorse. The moral traits which are all globed into every virtuous act and thought,— in speech, we must sever, and describe or suggest by painful enumeration of many particulars. Yet, as this sentiment is the essence of all religion, let me guide your eye to the precise objects of the sentiment, by an enumeration of some of those classes of facts in which this element is conspicuous.

The intuition of the moral sentiment is an insight of the perfection of the laws of the soul. These laws execute themselves. They are out of time, out of space, and not subject to circumstance. Thus; in the soul of man there is a justice whose retributions are instant and entire. He who does a good deed, is instantly ennobled. He who does a mean deed, is by the action itself contracted. He who puts off impurity, thereby puts on purity. If a man is at heart just, then in so far is he God; the safety of God, the immortality of God, the majesty of God do enter into that man with justice. If a man dissemble, deceive, he deceives himself, and goes out of acquaintance with his own being. A man in the view of absolute goodness, adores, with total humility. Every step so downward, is a step upward. The man who renounces himself, comes to himself.

See how this rapid intrinsic energy worketh everywhere, righting wrongs, correcting appearances, and bringing up facts to a harmony with thoughts. Its operation in life, though slow to the senses, is, at last, as sure as in the soul. By it, a man is made the Providence to himself, dispensing good to his goodness, and evil to his sin. Character is always known. Thefts never

enrich; alms never impoverish; murder will speak out of stone walls. The least admixture of a lie,— for example, the taint of vanity, the least attempt to make a good impression, a favorable appearance,— will instantly vitiate the effect. But speak the truth, and all nature and all spirits help you with unexpected furtherance. Speak the truth, and all things alive or brute are vouchers, and the very roots of the grass underground there, do seem to stir and move to bear you witness. See again the perfection of the Law as it applies itself to the affections, and becomes the law of society. As we are, so we associate. The good, by affinity, seek the good; the vile, by affinity, the vile. Thus of their own volition, souls proceed into heaven, into hell.

These facts have always suggested to man the sublime creed that the world is not the product of manifold power, but of one will, of one mind; and that one mind is everywhere active, in each ray of the star, in each wavelet of the pool; and whatever opposes that will, is everywhere balked and baffled, because things are made so, and not otherwise. Good is positive. Evil is merely privative, not absolute; it is like cold, which is the privation of heat. All evil is so much death or nonentity. Benevolence is absolute and real. So much benevolence as a man hath, so much life hath he. For all things proceed out of this same spirit, which is differently named love, justice, temperance, in its different applications, just as the ocean receives different names on the several shores which it washes. All things proceed out of the same spirit, and all things conspire with it. Whilst a man seeks good ends, he is strong by the whole strength of nature. In so far as he roves from these ends, he bereaves himself of power, of auxiliaries; his being shrinks out of all remote channels, he becomes less and less, a mote, a point, until absolute badness is absolute death.

The perception of this law of laws awakens in the mind a sentiment which we call the religious sentiment, and which makes our highest happiness. Wonderful is its power to charm and to command. It is a mountain air. It is the embalmer of the world. It is myrrh, and storax, and chlorine and rosemary. It makes the sky and the hills sublime, and the silent song of the stars is it. By it, is the universe made safe and habitable, not by science or power. Thought may work cold and intransitive in things, and find no end or unity; but the dawn of the sentiment of virtue on the heart, gives and is the assurance that Law is sovereign over all natures; and the worlds, time, space, eternity, do seem to break out into joy.

This sentiment is divine and deifying. It is the beatitude of man. It makes him illimitable. Through it, the soul first knows itself. It corrects the capital mistake of the infant man, who seeks to be great by following the great,

and hopes to derive advantages *from another,*— by showing the fountain of all good to be in himself, and that he, equally with every man, is an inlet into the deeps of Reason. When he says, "I ought;" when love warms him; when he chooses, warned from on high, the good and great deed; then, deep melodies wander through his soul from Supreme Wisdom. Then he can worship, and be enlarged by his worship; for he can never go behind this sentiment. In the sublimest flights of the soul, rectitude is never surmounted, love is never outgrown.

This sentiment lies at the foundation of society, and successively creates all forms of worship. The principle of veneration never dies out. Man fallen into superstition, into sensuality, is never quite without the visions of the moral sentiment. In like manner, all the expressions of this sentiment are sacred and permanent in proportion to their purity. The expressions of this sentiment affect us more than all other compositions. The sentences of the oldest time, which ejaculate this piety, are still fresh and fragrant. This thought dwelled always deepest in the minds of men in the devout and contemplative East; not alone in Palestine, where it reached its purest expression, but in Egypt, in Persia, in India, in China. Europe has always owed to Oriental genius, its divine impulses. What these holy bards said, all sane men found agreeable and true. And the unique impression of Jesus upon mankind, whose name is not so much written as ploughed into the history of this world, is proof of the subtle virtue of this infusion.

Meantime, whilst the doors of the temple stand open, night and day, before every man, and the oracles of this truth cease never, it is guarded by one stern condition; this, namely; it is an intuition. It cannot be received at second hand. Truly speaking, it is not instruction, but provocation, that I can receive from another soul. What he announces, I must find true in me, or wholly reject; and on his word, or as his second, be he who he may, I can accept nothing. On the contrary, the absence of this primary faith is the presence of degradation. As is the flood so is the ebb. Let this faith depart, and the very words it spake, and the things it made, become false and hurtful. Then falls the church, the state, art, letters, life. The doctrine of the divine nature being forgotten, a sickness infects and dwarfs the constitution. Once man was all; now he is an appendage, a nuisance. And because the indwelling Supreme Spirit cannot wholly be got rid of, the doctrine of it suffers this perversion, that the divine nature is attributed to one or two persons, and denied to all the rest, and denied with fury. The doctrine of inspiration is lost; the base doctrine of the majority of voices, usurps the place of the doctrine of the soul. Miracles, prophecy, poetry; the ideal life, the holy life, exist as ancient

history merely; they are not in the belief, nor in the aspiration of society; but, when suggested, seem ridiculous. Life is comic or pitiful, as soon as the high ends of being fade out of sight, and man becomes near-sighted, and can only attend to what addresses the senses.

These general views, which, whilst they are general, none will contest, find abundant illustration in the history of religion, and especially in the history of the Christian church. In that, all of us have had our birth and nurture. The truth contained in that, you, my young friends, are now setting forth to teach. As the Cultus, or established worship of the civilized world, it has great historical interest for us. Of its blessed words, which have been the consolation of humanity, you need not that I should speak. I shall endeavor to discharge my duty to you, on this occasion, by pointing out two errors in its administration, which daily appear more gross from the point of view we have just now taken.

Jesus Christ belonged to the true race of prophets. He saw with open eye the mystery of the soul. Drawn by its severe harmony, ravished with its beauty, he lived in it, and had his being there. Alone in all history, he estimated the greatness of man. One man was true to what is in you and me. He saw that God incarnates himself in man, and evermore goes forth anew to take possession of his world. He said, in this jubilee of sublime emotion, "I am divine. Through me, God acts; through me, speaks. Would you see God, see me; or, see thee, when thou also thinkest as I now think." But what a distortion did his doctrine and memory suffer in the same, in the next, and the following ages! There is no doctrine of the Reason which will bear to be taught by the Understanding. The understanding caught this high chant from the poet's lips, and said, in the next age, "This was Jehovah come down out of heaven. I will kill you, if you say he was a man." The idioms of his language, and the figures of his rhetoric, have usurped the place of his truth; and churches are not built on his principles, but on his tropes. Christianity became a Mythus, as the poetic teaching of Greece and of Egypt, before. He spoke of miracles; for he felt that man's life was a miracle, and all that man doth, and he knew that this daily miracle shines, as the character ascends. But the word Miracle, as pronounced by Christian churches, gives a false impression. It is not one with the blowing clover and the falling rain. * * *

That is always best which gives me to myself. The sublime is excited in me by the great stoical doctrine, Obey thyself. That which shows God in me, fortifies me. That which shows God out of me, makes me a wart and a wen. There is no longer a necessary reason for my being. Already the long shadows of untimely oblivion creep over me, and I shall decrease forever.

The divine bards are the friends of my virtue, of my intellect, of my strength. They admonish me, that the gleams which flash across my mind, are not mine, but God's; that they had the like, and were not disobedient to the heavenly vision. So I love them. Noble provocations go out from them, inviting me to resist evil; to subdue the world; and to Be. And thus by his holy thoughts, Jesus serves us, and thus only. * * *

Preaching is the expression of the moral sentiment in application to the duties of life. In how many churches, by how many prophets, tell me, is man made sensible that he is an infinite Soul; that the earth and heavens are passing into his mind; that he is drinking forever the soul of God? Where now sounds the persuasion, that by its very melody imparadises my heart, and so affirms its own origin in heaven? Where shall I hear words such as in elder ages drew men to leave all and follow,— father and mother, house and land, wife and child? Where shall I hear these august laws of moral being so pronounced, as to fill my ear, and I feel ennobled by the offer of my uttermost action and passion? The test of the true faith, certainly, should be its power to charm and command the soul, as the laws of nature control the activity of the hands,— so commanding that we find pleasure and honor in obeying. The faith should blend with the light of rising and of setting suns, with the flying cloud, the singing bird, and the breath of flowers. But now the priest's Sabbath has lost the splendor of nature; it is unlovely; we are glad when it is done; we can make, we do make, even sitting in our pews, a far better, holier, sweeter, for ourselves.

Whenever the pulpit is usurped by a formalist, then is the worshipper defrauded and disconsolate. We shrink as soon as the prayers begin, which do not uplift, but smite and offend us. We are fain to wrap our cloaks about us, and secure, as best we can, a solitude that hears not. I once heard a preacher who sorely tempted me to say, I would go to church no more. Men go, thought I, where they are wont to go, else had no soul entered the temple in the afternoon. A snow storm was falling around us. The snow storm was real; the preacher merely spectral; and the eye felt the sad contrast in looking at him, and then out of the window behind him, into the beautiful meteor of the snow. He had lived in vain. He had no one word intimating that he had laughed or wept, was married or in love, had been commended, or cheated, or chagrined. If he had ever lived and acted, we were none the wiser for it. The capital secret of his profession, namely, to convert life into truth, he had not learned. Not one fact in all his experience had he yet imported into his doctrine. This man had ploughed, and planted, and talked, and bought, and sold; he had read books; he had eaten and drunken; his head aches; his heart

throbs; he smiles and suffers; yet was there not a surmise, a hint, in all the discourse, that he had ever lived at all. Not a line did he draw out of real history. The true preacher can be known by this, that he deals out to the people his life,— life passed through the fire of thought. But of the bad preacher, it could not be told from his sermon, what age of the world he fell in; whether he had a father or a child; whether he was a freeholder or a pauper; whether he was a citizen or a countryman; or any other fact of his biography. It seemed strange that the people should come to church. It seemed as if their houses were very unentertaining, that they should prefer this thoughtless clamor. It shows that there is a commanding attraction in the moral sentiment, that can lend a faint tint of light to dulness and ignorance, coming in its name and place. The good hearer is sure he has been touched sometimes; is sure there is somewhat to be reached, and some word that can reach it. When he listens to these vain words, he comforts himself by their relation to his remembrance of better hours, and so they clatter and echo unchallenged.

I am not ignorant that when we preach unworthily, it is not always quite in vain. There is a good ear, in some men, that draws supplies to virtue out of very indifferent nutriment. There is poetic truth concealed in all the common-places of prayer and of sermons, and though foolishly spoken, they may be wisely heard; for, each is some select expression that broke out in a moment of piety from some stricken or jubilant soul, and its excellency made it remembered. The prayers and even the dogmas of our church, are like the zodiac of Denderah, and the astronomical monuments of the Hindoos, wholly insulated from anything now extant in the life and business of the people. They mark the height to which the waters once rose. But this docility is a check upon the mischief from the good and devout. In a large portion of the community, the religious service gives rise to quite other thoughts and emotions. We need not chide the negligent servant. We are struck with pity, rather, at the swift retribution of his sloth. Alas for the unhappy man that is called to stand in the pulpit, and *not* give bread of life. Everything that befalls, accuses him. Would he ask contributions for the missions, foreign or domestic? Instantly his face is suffused with shame, to propose to his parish, that they should send money a hundred or a thousand miles, to furnish such poor fare as they have at home, and would do well to go the hundred or the thousand miles to escape. Would he urge people to a godly way of living; — and can he ask a fellow-creature to come to Sabbath meetings, when he and they all know what is the poor uttermost they can hope for therein? Will he invite them privately to the Lord's Supper? He dares not. If no heart warm this rite, the hollow, dry, creaking formality is too plain, than that he can face a man of wit and

energy, and put the invitation without terror. In the street, what has he to say to the bold village blasphemer? The village blasphemer sees fear in the face, form, and gait of the minister.

Let me not taint the sincerity of this plea by any oversight of the claims of good men. I know and honor the purity and strict conscience of numbers of the clergy. What life the public worship retains, it owes to the scattered company of pious men, who minister here and there in the churches, and who, sometimes accepting with too great tenderness the tenet of the elders, have not accepted from others, but from their own heart, the genuine impulses of virtue, and so still command our love and awe, to the sanctity of character. Moreover, the exceptions are not so much to be found in a few eminent preachers, as in the better hours, the truer inspirations of all,— nay, in the sincere moments of every man. But with whatever exception, it is still true, that tradition characterizes the preaching of this country; that it comes out of the memory, and not out of the soul; that it aims at what is usual, and not at what is necessary and eternal; that thus, historical Christianity destroys the power of preaching, by withdrawing it from the exploration of the moral nature of man, where the sublime is, where are the resources of astonishment and power. What a cruel injustice it is to that Law, the joy of the whole earth, which alone can make thought dear and rich; that Law whose fatal sureness the astronomical orbits poorly emulate, that it is travestied and depreciated, that it is behooted and behowled, and not a trait, not a word of it articulated. The pulpit, in losing sight of this Law, loses its reason, and gropes after it knows not what. And for want of this culture, the soul of the community is sick and faithless. It wants nothing so much as a stern, high, stoical, Christian discipline, to make it know itself and the divinity that speaks through it. Now man is ashamed of himself; he skulks and sneaks through the world, to be tolerated, to be pitied, and scarcely in a thousand years does any man dare to be wise and good, and so draw after him the tears and blessings of his kind. * * *

And now, my brothers, you will ask, What in these desponding days can be done by us? The remedy is already declared in the ground of our complaint of the Church. We have contrasted the Church with the Soul. In the soul, then, let the redemption be sought. Wherever a man comes, there comes revolution. The old is for slaves. When a man comes, all books are legible, all things transparent, all religions are forms. He is religious. Man is the wonder-worker. He is seen amid miracles. All men bless and curse. He saith yea and nay, only. The stationariness of religion; the assumption that the age of inspiration is past, that the Bible is closed; the fear of degrading the

character of Jesus by representing him as a man; indicate with sufficient clearness the falsehood of our theology!!! It is the office of a true preacher to show us that God is, not was; that he speaketh, not spake. The true Christianity,— a faith like Christ's in the infinitude of man,— is lost. None believeth in the soul of man, but only in some man or person old and departed. Ah me! no man goeth alone. All men go in flocks to this saint or that poet, avoiding the God who seeth in secret. They cannot see in secret; they love to be blind in public. They think society wiser than their soul, and know not that one soul, and their soul, is wiser than the whole world. See how nations and races flit by on the sea of time, and leave no ripple to tell where they floated or sunk, and one good soul shall make the name of Moses, or of Zeno, or of Zoroaster, reverend forever. None assayeth the stern ambition to be the Self of the nation, and of nature, but each would be an easy secondary to some Christian scheme, or sectarian connection, or some eminent man. Once leave your own knowledge of God, your own sentiment, and take secondary knowledge, as St. Paul's, or George Fox's, or Swedenborg's, and you get wide from God with every year this secondary form lasts, and if, as now, for centuries,— the chasm yawns to that breadth, that men can scarcely be convinced there is in them anything divine.

Let me admonish you, first of all, to go alone; to refuse the good models, even those which are sacred in the imagination of men, and dare to love God without mediator or veil. Friends enough you shall find who will hold up to your emulation Wesleys and Oberlins, Saints and Prophets. Thank God for these good men, but say, "I also am a man." Imitation cannot go above its model. The imitator dooms himself to hopeless mediocrity. The inventor did it, because it was natural to him, and so in him it has a charm. In the imitator, something else is natural, and he bereaves himself of his own beauty, to come short of another man's.

Yourself a newborn bard of the Holy Ghost,— cast behind you all conformity, and acquaint men at first hand with Deity. Look to it first and only, that fashion, custom, authority, pleasure, and money, are nothing to you,— are not bandages over your eyes, that you cannot see,— but live with the privilege of the immeasurable mind. Not too anxious to visit periodically all families and each family in your parish connection,— when you meet one of these men or women, be to them a divine man; be to them thought and virtue; let their timid aspirations find in you a friend; let their trampled instincts be genially tempted out in your atmosphere; let their doubts know that you have doubted, and their wonder feel that you have wondered. By trusting your own heart, you shall gain more confidence in other men. For all our penny-wis-

dom, for all our soul-destroying slavery to habit, it is not to be doubted, that all men have sublime thoughts; that all men value the few real hours of life: they love to be heard; they love to be caught up into the vision of principles. We mark with light in the memory the few interviews we have had, in the dreary years of routine and of sin, with souls that made our souls wiser; that spoke what we thought; that told us what we knew; that gave us leave to be what we inly were. Discharge to men the priestly office, and, present or absent, you shall be followed with their love as by an angel. * * *

In such high communion, let us study the grand strokes of rectitude; a bold benevolence, an independence of friends, so that not the unjust wishes of those who love us, shall impair our freedom, but we shall resist for truth's sake the freest flow of kindness, and appeal to sympathies far in advance; and,— what is the highest form in which we know this beautiful element,— a certain solidity of merit, that has nothing to do with opinion, and which is so essentially and manifestly virtue, that it is taken for granted, that the right, the brave, the generous step will be taken by it, and nobody thinks of commending it. You would compliment a coxcomb doing a good act, but you would not praise an angel. The silence that accepts merit as the most natural thing in the world, is the highest applause. Such souls, when they appear, are the Imperial Guard of Virtue, the perpetual reserve, the dictators of fortune. One needs not praise their courage,— they are the heart and soul of nature. O my friends, there are resources in us on which we have not drawn. There are men who rise refreshed on hearing a threat; men to whom a crisis which intimidates and paralyzes the majority,— demanding not the faculties of prudence and thrift, but comprehension, immovableness, the readiness of sacrifice,— comes graceful and beloved as a bride. Napoleon said of Massena, that he was not himself until the battle began to go against him; then, when the dead began to fall in ranks around him, awoke his powers of combination, and he put on terror and victory as a robe. So it is in rugged crises, in unweariable endurance, and in aims which put sympathy out of question, that the angel is shown. But these are heights that we can scarce remember and look up to, without contrition and shame. Let us thank God that such things exist.

And now let us do what we can to rekindle the smouldering, nigh-quenched fire on the altar. The evils of the church that now is are manifest. The question returns, What shall we do? I confess, all attempts to project and establish a Cultus with new rites and forms, seem to me vain. Faith makes us, and not we it, and faith makes its own forms. All attempts to contrive a system are as cold as the new worship introduced by the French to the goddess of Reason,— to-day, pasteboard and filigree, and ending to-morrow

in madness and murder. Rather let the breath of new life be breathed by you through the forms already existing. For, if once you are alive, you shall find they shall become plastic and new. The remedy to their deformity is, first, soul, and second, soul, and evermore, soul. * * * Two inestimable advantages Christianity has given us; first, the Sabbath, the jubilee of the whole world; whose light dawns welcome alike into the closet of the philosopher, into the garret of toil, and into prison cells, and everywhere suggests, even to the vile, the dignity of spiritual being. Let it stand forevermore, a temple, which new love, new faith, new sight shall restore to more than its first splendor to mankind. And secondly, the institution of preaching,— the speech of man to men,— essentially the most flexible of all organs, of all forms. What hinders that now, everywhere, in pulpits, in lecture-rooms, in houses, in fields, wherever the invitation of men or your own occasions lead you, you speak the very truth, as your life and conscience teach it, and cheer the waiting, fainting hearts of men with new hope and new revelation?

I look for the hour when that supreme Beauty, which ravished the souls of those Eastern men, and chiefly of those Hebrews, and through their lips spoke oracles to all time, shall speak in the West also. The Hebrew and Greek Scriptures contain immortal sentences, that have been bread of life to millions. But they have no epical integrity; are fragmentary; are not shown in their order to the intellect. I look for the new Teacher, that shall follow so far those shining laws, that he shall see them come full circle; shall see their rounding complete grace; shall see the world to be the mirror of the soul; shall see the identity of the law of gravitation with purity of heart; and shall show that the Ought, that Duty, is one thing with Science, with Beauty, and with Joy.

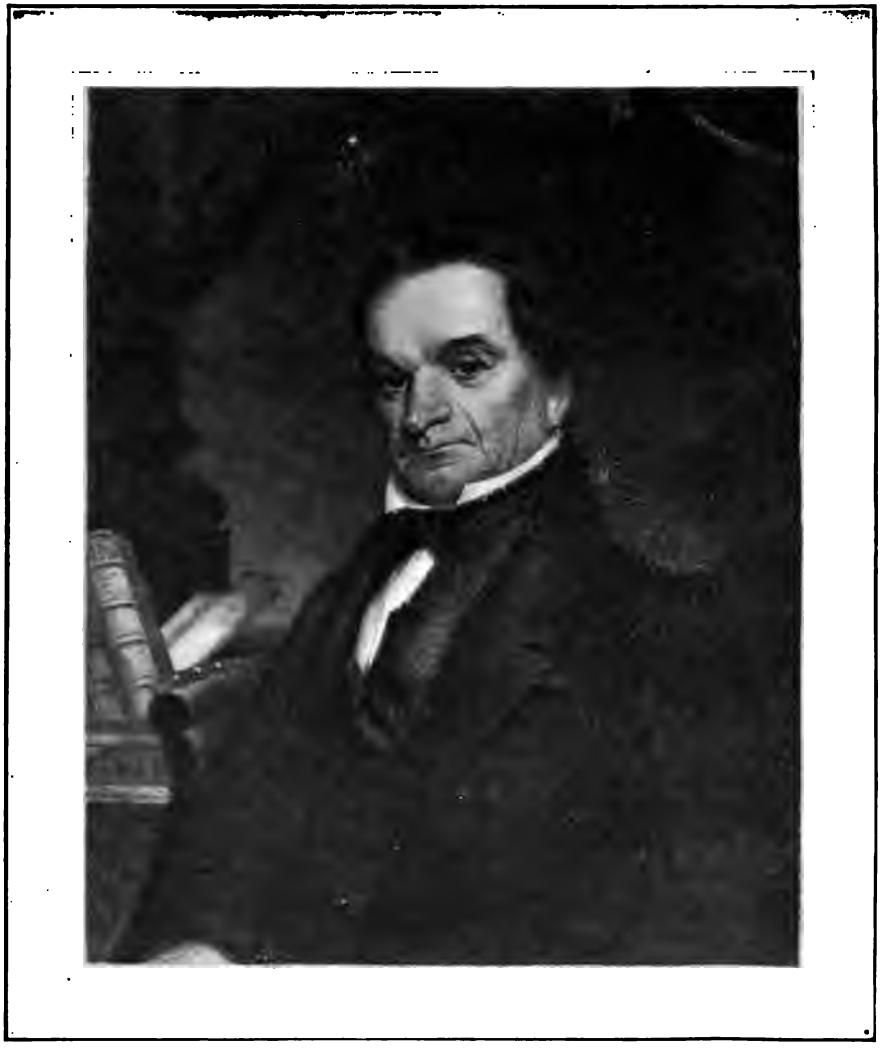
(Delivered before the Senior Class, Divinity College, Cambridge, Mass., July, 1838.)

Capital Punishment.

By EDWARD LIVINGSTON, of New York.

(Born 1764, died 1836.)

EXISTENCE was the first gift of Omnipotence to man,— existence accompanied not only by the instinct to preserve it, and to perpetuate the species, but with a social (not merely a gregarious) disposition, which led so early to the formation of societies, that unless we carry our imagination back to the first created being, it is scarcely possible to imagine, and certainly impossible to trace, any other state than that of the social — it is found wherever men are found, and must have existed as soon as the number of the species were sufficiently multiplied to produce it. Man, then, being created for society, the Creator of man must have intended that it should be preserved; and as he acts by general laws, not by special interference (except in the cases which religion directs to believe), all primitive society, as well as the individuals of which it is composed, must have been endowed with certain natural rights and correspondent duties, anterior in time, and paramount in authority, to any that may be formed by mutual consent. The first of these rights, perhaps the only one that will not admit of dispute, is, as well on the part of the individual as of the society, the right to continue the existence given by God to man, and by the nature of man, to the social state in which he was formed to live; and the correspondent mutual duty of the individual and of the society is to defend this right; but when the right is given, the means to enforce it must, in natural as well as positive law, be admitted to be also given. If, then, both individuals and the society have the right to preserve their several existence, and are, moreover, under the reciprocal duty to defend it when attacked, it follows, that if one or the other is threatened with destruction, which cannot be averted but by taking the life of the assailant, the right, nay more, the duty to take it exists: the irresistible impulse of nature indicates the right she has conferred, and her first great law shows that life may be taken in self-defense. It is true the aggressor has the same right to exist; but if this right were sacred while he was attempting to destroy that of another there would be coexisting two equal



EDWARD LIVINGSTON.

and conflicting rights, which is a contradiction in terms. The right, therefore, I speak of, is proved; but both in the individual and in society it is strictly defensive — it can only be exerted during that period when the danger lasts, by which I mean the question is, Which of the two shall exist, the aggressor or the party attacked,— whether this be an individual or the society? Before this crisis has arrived, or after it has passed, it is no longer self-defense and then their right to enjoy existence would be coexistent and equal, but not conflicting, and for one to deprive the other of it would be of course unjust.

Therefore, the positions with which I set out seem to be proved. That the right to inflict death exists, but that it must be in defense, either of individual or social existence; and that it is limited to the case where no other alternative remains to prevent the threatened destruction.

In order to judge whether there is any necessity for calling this abstract right into action, we must recollect the duty imposed upon society of protecting its members, derived, if we have argued correctly, from the social nature of man, independent of any implied contract. While we can imagine society to be in so rude and imperfect a state as to render the performance of this duty impossible without taking the life of the aggressor, we must concede the right. But is there any such state of society? Certainly none in the civilized world, and our laws are made for civilized man. Imprisonment is an obvious and effectual alternative; therefore, in civilized society, in the usual course of events, we can never suppose it necessary, and of course never lawful; and even among the most savage hordes, where the means of detention might be supposed wanting — banishment, for the most part, would take away the necessity of inflicting death. An active imagination, indeed, might create cases and situations in which the necessity might possibly exist; but if there are any such, and they are sufficiently probable to justify an exception in the law, they should be stated as such, and they would then confirm the rule. But, by a perversity of reasoning in those who advocate this species of punishment, they put the exception in the place of the rule, and, what is worse, an exception of which the possibility is doubtful.

It may be observed, that I have taken the preservation of life as the only case in which even necessity could give the right to take life, and that for the simple reason, that this is the only case in which the two natural rights of equal importance can be balanced; and in which the scale must preponderate in favor of him who endeavors to destroy. The only true foundation for the right of inflicting death, is the preservation of existence. This gift of our Creator seems, by the universal desire to preserve it which he has infused into every part of his animal creation, to be intended as the only one which he

did not intend to place at our disposal. But, it may be said, what becomes of our other rights? Are personal liberty, personal inviolability, and private property to be held at the will of any strong invader? How are these to be defended, if you restrain the right to take life to the single case of defense against an attack upon existence? To this it is answered: Society being a natural state, those who compose it have collectively natural rights. The first is that of preserving its existence; but this can only be done by preserving that of the individuals which compose it. It has, then, duties as well as rights; but these are wisely ordered to be inseparable. Society cannot exert its right of self-preservation without, by the same act, performing its duty in the preservation of its members. Whenever any of those things which are the objects of the association, life, liberty, or property, are assailed, the force of the whole social body must be exerted for its preservation: and this collective force, in the case of an individual attack, must, in ordinary cases, be sufficient to repel it without the sacrifice of life; but in extraordinary cases, when the force of the assailants is so great as to induce them to persevere in a manner that reduces the struggle to one for existence, then the law of self-defense applies.

But there may be a period in which individual rights may be injured before the associated power can interfere. In these cases, as the nature of society does not deprive the individual of his rights, but only comes in to aid their preservation, he may defend his person or property against illegal violence by a force sufficient to repel that with which he is assailed. This results clearly from the right to property, to whatever source we may refer it; and from that of personal inviolability, which is (under certain restrictions imposed by nature itself) indubitably a natural right. As the injury threatened may not admit of compensation, the individual may use force to prevent the aggression; and if that used by the assailant endangers his life, the question then again becomes one of self-defense, and the same reasoning applies which was used to show the right of taking life in that case. But where the individual attacked can, either by his own physical force, or by the aid of the society to which he belongs, defend himself or his property,— when the attack is not of such a nature as to jeopardize his own existence in the defense of them,— if he take the life of the aggressor, under these circumstances, he takes it without necessity, and consequently without right. This is the extent to which the natural law of self-defense allows an individual to go, in putting another to death. May any association of individuals inflict it for any other cause, and under any other circumstance? Society has the right only to defend that which the individuals who compose it have a right to defend, or to defend itself — that is to say, its own existence, and to destroy any individual, or any

other society which shall attempt its destruction. But this, as in the case of individuals, must be only while the attempt is making, and when there is no other means to defeat it. And it is in that sense only that I understand the word so often used, so often abused, so little understood,— *necessity*. It exists between nations during war, or a nation and one of its component parts in a rebellion or insurrection,— between individuals during the moment of an attempt against life, which cannot otherwise be repelled; but between society and individuals, organized as the former now is, with all the means of repression and self-defense at its command, never. I come then to the conclusion, in which I desire most explicitly to be understood, that although the right to punish with death might be abstractedly conceded to exist in certain societies, and under certain circumstances which might make it necessary, yet, composed as society now is, these circumstances cannot reasonably be even supposed to occur; that, therefore, no necessity, and of course no right, to inflict death as a punishment does exist.

There is also great force in the reasonings which have been used to rebut that which founds the right to take life for crimes, on an original contract, made by individuals on the first formation of society: 1. That no such contract is proved, or can be well imagined. 2. That if it were, it would be limited to the case of defense. The parties to such contract could only give to the society those rights which they individually had: their only right over the life of another is to defend their own. They can give that to society, and they can give no more. In this case also, therefore, the right resolves itself into that of doing what is necessary for preservation. The great inquiry then recurs, Is the punishment of death in any civilized society necessary, for the preservation either of the lives of its citizens individually, or of their social collective rights? If it be not necessary, I hope it has been proved not to be just; and if neither just nor necessary, can it be expedient? To be necessary, it must be shown that the lives of the citizens and the existence of society cannot be preserved without it. But can this be maintained in the face of so many proofs? Egypt, for twenty years, during the reign of Sabaco — Rome, for two hundred and fifty years — Tuscany, for more than twenty-five — Russia, for twenty-one, during the reign of Elizabeth,— are so many proofs to the contrary. Nay, if those are right who tell you that the penal laws of Spain were abrogated by the transfer, this State (Louisiana) itself gives an unanswerable proof that no such necessity exists; for if those laws were not in force, it is very clear that there were none imposing the penalty of death, from the time of the transfer, in December, 1803, to the 5th of May, 1805, when our first penal law was passed. Yet, during that period, when national prejudices

ran high — when one Government had abandoned and the other had not yet established its authority,— there was not, I believe, a single instance of murder, or of any attempt to destroy the order of society; so that one argument or the other must be given up. Either the Spanish laws existed, or we ourselves furnish a proof that a nation may exist, in peace, without the punishment of death. Societies have, then, existed without it. In those societies, therefore, it was not necessary. Is there anything in the state of ours that makes it so? It has not, as far as I have observed, been even suggested. But, if not absolutely necessary, have its advocates even the poor pretext that it is convenient, — that the crimes for which it is reserved diminish under its operation, in a greater proportion than those which incur a different punishment? The reverse is the melancholy truth. Murder, and those attempts to murder which are capitally punished, have increased in some of the United States, to a degree that not only creates general alarm, but, by the atrocity with which they are perpetrated, fix a stain on the national character, which it will be extremely difficult to efface. I might rely, for this fact, on the general impression which every member of the body I address must have on this subject; but as the result is capable of being demonstrated by figures, I pray their attention to the tables annexed to this report,— in which, although they are far from being as complete as could be wished, they will see an increase of those crimes that demonstrates, if anything can do it, the inefficiency of the means adopted, and so strangely persisted in, of repressing them. The small number of executions, compared with the well-authenticated instances of the crime, shows that the severity of the punishment increases the chance of acquittal; and the idle curiosity which draws so many thousands to witness the exhibition of human suffering at the executions — the levity with which the spectacle is beheld — demonstrates its demoralizing and heart-hardening effects,— while the crimes committed at the very moment of the example intended to deter from the commission, show how entirely ineffectual it is. One instance of this is so remarkable, that I cannot omit its detail. In the year 1822, a person, named John Lechler, was executed at Lancaster, in Pennsylvania, for an atrocious murder. The execution was, as usual, witnessed by an immense multitude; and of the salutary effect it had on their feelings and morals we may judge from the following extract from a newspaper, printed in the neighborhood,— the material facts, which are stated in it, having been since confirmed to me, by unquestionable authority: —

"It has long," says the judicious editor, "been a controverted point, whether public executions, by the parade with which they are conducted, do not operate on the vicious part of the community more as incitements to, than

examples deterring from, crime. What has taken place in Lancaster would lead one to believe, that the spectacle of a public execution produces less reformation than criminal propensity. While an old offense was atoned for, more than a dozen new ones were committed, and some of a capital grade. Twenty-eight persons were committed to jail, on Friday night, for divers offenses at Lancaster, such as murder, larceny, assault and battery, etc.; besides, many gentlemen lost their pocket-books, where the pickpockets escaped, or the jail would have overflowed.

"In the evening, as one Thomas Burns, who was employed as a weaver in a factory, near Lancaster, was going home, he was met by one Wilson, with whom he had some previous misunderstanding; when Wilson drew a knife and gave him divers stabs, in sundry places, which are considered mortal. Wilson was apprehended and committed to jail, and had the same irons put on him which had scarcely been laid off long enough, by Lechler, to get cold."

History presents to us the magic glass on which, by looking at past, we may discern future events. It is folly not to read; it is perversity not to follow its lessons. If the hemlock had not been brewed for felons in Athens, would the fatal cup have been drained by Socrates? If the people had not been familiarized to scenes of judicial homicide, would France or England have been disgraced by the useless murder of Louis or of Charles? If the punishment of death had not been sanctioned by the ordinary laws of those kingdoms, would the one have been deluged with the blood of innocence, of worth, of patriotism, and of science, in her revolution? Would the best and noblest lives of the other have been lost on the scaffold, in her civil broils? Would her lovely and calumniated queen, the virtuous Malesherbes, the learned Condorcet — would religion, personified in the pious ministers of the altar, courage and honor, in the host of high-minded nobles, and science, in its worthy representative, Lavoisier — would the daily hecatomb of loyalty and worth,— would all have been immolated by the stroke of the guillotine; or Russell and Sidney, and the long succession of victims of party and tyranny, by the axe? The fires of Smithfield would not have blazed, nor, after the lapse of ages, should we yet shudder at the names of St. Bartholomew, if the ordinary ecclesiastical law had not usurped the attributes of divine vengeance, and by the sacrilegious and absurd doctrine, that offenses against the Deity were to be punished with death, given a pretext to these atrocities. Nor, in the awful and mysterious scene on Mount Calvary, would that agony have been inflicted, if by the daily sight of the cross, as an instrument of justice, the Jews had not been prepared to make it one of their sacrilegious rage. But there is no end of the examples which crowd upon the memory, to show the length to which the exercise

of this power, by the law, has carried the dreadful abuse of it, under the semblance of justice. Every nation has wept over the graves of patriots, heroes, and martyrs, sacrificed by its own fury. Every age has had its annals of blood.

But not to resort to the danger of the examples in times of trouble and dissension, advert once more to that which was formerly urged, and to which I must again hereafter return — that which attends its regular practice in peace — the irremediable nature of this punishment, when error, popular prejudice, or false or mistaken testimony, has caused its infliction to be ordered upon the innocent,— a case by no means of so rare occurrence as may be imagined. It is not intended to enter into a detail of those which I have myself collected; they are not few, although they must necessarily bear a small proportion to those which were not within my reach. The author of a book of high authority, on evidence, has brought together several cases which are well authenticated. In France, in the short space of one year, I have gathered from the public papers that seven cases occurred, in which persons condemned to death by the primary courts and assizes, have been acquitted by the sentence of a superior tribunal, on a reversal of the sentence. In other States of our Union, these cases are not uncommon. With us the organizations of our courts prevent the correction of any error, either in law, or in fact, by a superior tribunal. But everywhere it is matter of surprise that any cases should be discovered of these fatal mistakes. The unfortunate subjects of them are, for the most part, friendless; generally their lives must have been vicious, or suspicion would not have fastened on them; and men of good character sometimes think it disreputable to show an interest for such men, or to examine critically into the circumstances of their case. They are deserted by their connections, if they have any,— friends they have none. They are condemned — executed — forgotten; and in a few days it would seem that the same earth which covered their bodies has buried all remembrance of them, and all doubts of their innocence or guilt. It is, then, not unreasonable to suppose, that many more such cases have existed than those that have fortuitously been brought to light. Would you retain a punishment that, in the common course of events, must be irremediably inflicted, at times, on the innocent, even if it secured the punishment of the guilty? But that is far from being the effect. While you cannot, in particular cases, avoid its falling upon innocence, that very cause, from the imperfection of all testimony, will make it more favorable to the escape of the guilty; and the maxim, so often quoted on this occasion, will no longer be perverted in order to effect a compromise between the conscience of the juror and the severity of the law, when your punishments are such only as admit of remission when they have been found to be unjustly imposed.

Other arguments, not less forcible,— other authorities, equally respectable, — might be adduced to show the ill effects of this species of punishment; but the many topics that are still before me, in this report, oblige me to pursue this one no further than to inquire, what good can be expected, or what present advantage is derived from retaining this punishment? Our legislation surrendered it without a struggle, in all cases, at first, but murder, attempt to murder, rape, and servile insurrection; and afterwards extended it to a species of aggravated burglary. Now, as these cases are those only in which it has been deemed expedient to retain this punishment,— as it has been abandoned in all others,— the serious inquiry presents itself, why it was retained in these, or why abandoned in the others? Its inefficiency, or some of the other objections to it, must have been apparent in all the other numerous offenses in which it has been dispensed with, or it would certainly have been retained, or restored, Taking this acknowledged inefficiency, in the numerous cases, for the basis of the argument, let us inquire whether there is anything which makes it peculiarly adapted to the enumerated crimes, which it is unjust or inexpedient to apply to any of the others? We have three modes of discovering the truth on this subject: by reasoning from the general effects of particular motives on human actions; by analogy, or judging from the effects in one case to the probable effects in another; or by experience of the effect on the particular case. The general reasoning upon the justice and efficacy of the punishment will not be repeated here, but it is referred to as being conclusive as to all offenses, and admitting of no exceptions that would apply to murder, or either of the three other cases in which our laws inflict it. If we reason from analogy, we should say the only argument ever used in favor of death as a punishment is, that the awful example it presents will deter from the commission of the offense; but by your abandonment of it in all cases but these, you acknowledge it has no efficacy there. Analogy, therefore, would lead us to the conclusion, that if it was useless in the many cases, it would be so in the few. But it is acknowledged that no analogy, or any other mode of reasoning,— no theory, however plausible,— ought to influence, when contradicted by experience. You have tried this remedy, and found it ineffectual! The crimes to which you have applied it are decreasing, in number and atrocity, under its influence! If so, it would be imprudent to make any change, even under the most favorable prospects that the new system would be equally efficient. Let us try it by this test. For the first three years after the transfer of the province, there was not a single execution or conviction for either of these crimes. In the course, however, of the first six years, four Indians, residing within the limits of the State, made an attack on some of the settlers, and were either given up by

the tribe, or arrested and condemned; and two were executed as for murder, and one negro was condemned and executed for insurrection. In the next six years there were ten convictions; in the succeeding four, to the month of January, 1822, fourteen; — so that we find the number of convictions for the enumerated crimes have nearly doubled in every period of six years, in the face of this efficient penalty. But the population of the State doubles only once in twenty years; therefore the increase of this crime progresses in a ratio of three to one to that of the population; and we should not forget, in making this calculation, the important and alarming fact, that numerous instances of homicide, and attempts to kill, occur, which are rarely followed by prosecution, and more rarely still by conviction.

We have seen a deliberate murder committed in the very crowd assembled to enjoy the spectacle of a murderer's death; and do we still talk of its force as an example? In defiance of your menaced punishment, homicide stalks abroad and raises its bloody hand, at noonday, in your crowded streets; and, when arrested in its career, takes shelter under the example of your laws, and is protected, by their very severity, from punishment. Try the efficacy of milder punishments; they have succeeded. Your own statutes,— all those of every State in the Union,— prove that they have succeeded, in other offenses; try the great experiment on this also. Be consistent; restore capital punishment in other crimes, or abolish it in this. Do not fear that the murderers from all quarters of the earth, seduced by the mildness of your penal code, will choose this as the theatre of their exploits. On this point we have a most persuasive example. In Tuscany, as we have seen, neither murder nor any other crime was punished with death, for more than twenty years, during which time we have not only the official declaration of the sovereign, that "all crimes had diminished, and those of an atrocious nature had become extremely rare," but the authority of the venerable Franklin for these conclusive facts; that in Tuscany, where murder was not punished with death, only five had been committed in twenty years,— while in Rome, where that punishment is inflicted with great pomp and parade, sixty murders were committed in the short space of three months, in the city and its vicinity. "It is remarkable," he adds to this account, "that the manners, principles, and religion of the inhabitants of Tuscany and of Rome are exactly the same. The abolition of death alone, as a punishment for murder, produced this difference in the moral character of the two nations." From this it would appear, rather that the murderers of Tuscany were invited, by the severe punishments in the neighboring territories of Rome, than that those of Rome were attracted into Tuscany by their abolition. We have nothing to apprehend, then, from this

measure; and if any ill effects should follow the experiment, it is but too easy to return to the system of extermination.

One argument,— the ferocious character impressed on the people by this punishment, which was insisted on in the first report,— has been so strongly illustrated by a subsequent event in Pennsylvania, that I cannot omit stating it. After the execution of Lechler had gratified the people about York and Lancaster with the spectacle of his death, and had produced its proper complement of homicide and other crimes, a poor wretch was condemned to suffer the same fate, for a similar offense, in another part of the State, where the people had not yet been indulged with such a spectacle. They, also, collected by thousands and tens of thousands. The victim was brought out. All the eyes, in the living mass that surrounded the gibbet, were fixed on his countenance; and they waited, with strong desire, the expected signal for launching him into eternity.

There was a delay. They grew impatient. It was prolonged, and they were outrageous: cries like those which precede the tardy rising of the curtain, in a theatre, were heard. Impatient for the delight they expected in seeing a fellow-creature die, they raised a ferocious cry. But when it was at last announced that a reprievé had left them no hope of witnessing his agonies, their fury knew no bounds; and the poor maniac, for it was discovered that he was insane, was with difficulty snatched, by the officers of justice, from the fate which the most violent among them seemed determined to inflict. This is not an overcharged picture; the same savage feeling has been more than once exhibited in different parts of the Union, and will always be produced by public executions, unless it is replaced by the equally dangerous feeling of admiration and interest for the sufferer. Which of the two is to prevail, depends on circumstances totally out of the power of the lawgiver or the judge to foresee, or control; but, by the indulgence of either feeling, every good end of punishment is totally defeated.

I cannot, I ought not to dismiss this subject, without once more pressing on the most serious consideration of the Legislature, an argument which every new view of it convinces me is important, and, if we listen to the voice of conscience, conclusive,— the irremediable nature of this punishment. Until men acquire new faculties, and are enabled to decide upon innocence or guilt without the aid of fallible and corruptible human evidence, so long will the risk be incurred of condemning the innocent. Were the consequence felt as deeply as it ought to be, would there be an advocate for that punishment which, applied in such case, has all the consequences of the most atrocious murder to the innocent sufferers,— worse than the worst murderer! He stabs, or strikes, or

poisons, and the victim dies,— he dies unconscious of the blow, without being made a spectacle to satisfy ferocious curiosity, and without the torture of leaving his dearest friends doubtful of his innocence, or seeing them abandon him under the conviction of his guilt. He dies, and his death is like one of those inevitable chances to which all mortals are subject. His family are distressed, but not dishonored; his death is lamented by his friends, and, if his life deserved it, honored by his country. But the death inflicted by the laws,— the murder of the innocent under its holy forms,— has no such mitigating circumstances. Slow in its approach, uncertain in its stroke, its victim feels not only the sickness of the heart that arises from the alternation of hope and fear, until his doom is pronounced; but when that becomes inevitable,— alone, the tenant of a dungeon during every moment that the lenity of the law prolongs his life,— he is made to feel all those anticipations, worse than a thousand deaths. The consciousness of innocence, that which is our support under other miseries, is here converted into a source of bitter anguish, when it is found to be no protection from infamy and death; and when the ties which connected him to his country, his friends, his family, are torn asunder, no consoling reflection mitigates the misery of that moment. He leaves unmerited infamy to his children; a name stamped with dishonor to their surviving parent, and bows down the gray heads of his own with sorrow to the grave. As he walks from his dungeon, he sees the thousands who have come to gaze on his last agony: he mounts the fatal tree, and a life of innocence is closed by a death of dishonor. This is no picture of the imagination. Would to God it were! Would to God that, if death must be inflicted, some sure means might be discovered of making it fall upon the guilty. These things have happened. These legal murders have been committed! and who were the primary causes of the crime? Who authorized a punishment which, once inflicted, could never be remitted to the innocent? Who tied the cord, or let fall the axe upon the guiltless head? Not the executioner, the vile instrument who is hired to do the work of death,— not the jury who convict, or the judge who condemns,— not the law which sanctions these errors; but the legislators who made the law,— those who, having the power, did not repeal it. These are the persons responsible to their country, their consciences, and their God. These horrors not only have happened, but they must be repeated: the same causes will produce the same effects. The innocent have suffered the death of the guilty: the innocent will suffer. We know it. The horrible truth stares us in the face. We dare not deny, and cannot evade it. A word, while it saves the innocent, will secure the punishment of the guilty; and shall we hesitate to pronounce it? Shall we content ourselves with our own imagined exemption from this fate,

and shut our ears to the cries of justice and humanity? Shall "sensibility (as has been finely observed) sleep in the lap of luxury," and not awake at the voice of wretchedness? I urge this point with more earnestness, because I have witnessed more than one condemnation under false instructions of law, or perjured, or mistaken testimony;—sentences that would now have been reversed, if the unfortunate sufferers were within the reach of mercy. I have seen, in the gloom and silence of the dungeon, the deep concentrated expression of indignity which contended with grief; have heard the earnest asseverations of innocence, made in tones which no art could imitate; and listened with awe to the dreadful adjuration, poured forth by one of these victims, with an energy and solemnity that seemed superhuman, summoning his false accuser and his mistaken judge to meet him before the throne of God. Such an appeal to the high tribunal which never errs, and before which he who made it was in a few hours to appear, was calculated to create a belief of his innocence: that belief was changed into certainty. The perjury of the witness was discovered, and he fled from the infamy that awaited him; but it was too late for any other effect, than to add one more example to the many that preceded it of the danger, and I may add impiety, of using this attribute of the divine power, without the infallibility that can alone properly direct it. And this objection alone, did none of the other cogent reasons against capital punishment exist,—this alone would make me hail the decree for its abolition as an event, so honorable to my country, and so consoling to humanity, as to be cheaply purchased by the labor of a life.

I cannot quit this part of the subject without submitting to the general assembly the opinion of one whose authority would justify an experiment even more hazardous than this, but whose arguments are as convincing as his name is respectable. They are not the opinions of one whom the cant, which is used to cover the ignorance of the day, would call a theorist, but a man whose whole life was spent in the useful and honorable functions of the highest magistracy, whose name is always mentioned with reverence, and whose doctrines are quoted as authority, wherever the true principles of legal knowledge are regarded. Hear the venerable D'Aguesseau:—

"Who would believe that a first impression may sometimes decide the question of life and death? A fatal mass of circumstances, which seem as if fate had collected them together, for the ruin of an unfortunate wretch,—a crowd of mute witnesses, (and from that character more dangerous)—depose against innocence: they prejudice the judge; his indignation is roused; his zeal contributes to seduce him. Losing the character of the judge in that of the accuser, he looks only to that which is evidence of guilt, and he sacrifices to

his own reasonings the man whom he would have saved had he listened only to the proofs of the law. An unforeseen event sometimes shows that innocence has sunk under the weight of conjectures, and falsifies the conclusions which circumstances had induced the magistrate to draw. Truth lifts up the veil with which probability had enveloped her; but she appears too late! The blood of the innocent cries aloud for vengeance against the prejudice of his judge; and the magistrate passes the rest of his life deploring a misfortune which his *repentance cannot repair.*"

The earnestness for this reform is sometimes reproached to its advocates as proceeding from a childish fear, that magnifies the apprehension of that which we know is appointed to us all. Not so. The value of life is not overrated in the argument. There are occasions in which the risk of its loss must be incurred; in which the certainty of death must be encountered with firmness and composure. These occasions are presented by patriotism, in defense of our country and our country's rights,— by benevolence, in the rescue of another from danger,— by religion, whenever persecution offers the martyr's crown to the faithful; and it is not known, or believed, that those who propose to abolish death as a punishment either fear it as a natural event, or shun its encounter when required by duty, more than those who think it ought to be retained. He who preserved the life of a Roman citizen was entitled to a more honorable recompense than the daring soldier who ventured his own, by first mounting the breach. The civic was preferred to the mural crown. The Romans, during the best period of their history, reduced this abolition to practice. "Far," said their great orator, endeavoring, in a corrupted age, to restore the ancient feeling on the subject,— "far from us be the punishment of death — its ministers — its instruments. Remove them, not only from their actual operation on our bodies, but banish them from our eyes, our ears, our thoughts; for, not only the executions, but the apprehension, the existence, the very mention of these things, is disgraceful to a freeman and a Roman citizen." Yet the Romans were not very remarkable for a pusillanimous fear of death. In the age of which I speak, they did not want the excitement of capital punishment to induce them to die for their country. On the contrary, it might, perhaps, be plausibly argued, that the servile disposition, which disgraced the latter ages of the republic, was in some measure caused by the change, which made the sacrifice of life the expiation for crime, instead of the consummation and proof of patriotic devotion.

Conscious of having been guilty of much repetition, and certain that I have weakened, by my version of them, arguments much better used by others, I am yet fearful of having omitted many things that might have an effect in

convincing any one of those to whom this report is addressed. The firm religious belief I have of the truth of the doctrine I advance, contrasted with the sense of my incapacity to enforce it upon others, must have produced obscurity where the interests of humanity require there should be light, and confusion where the performance of my great duty demands order. But the truth will appear in spite of these obstacles. From the midst of the cloud, with which human imperfections has surrounded her, her voice, like that of the Almighty from the Mount, will be heard reiterating to nations, as well as to individuals, the great command, "*Thou shalt not kill.*"